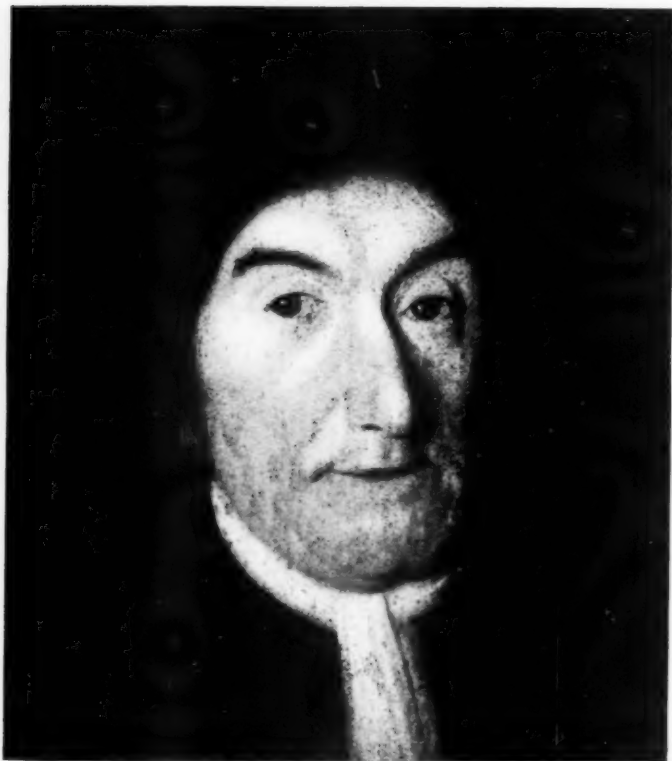


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FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN, 1694

[From an oil painting by an unknown artist in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.]

FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN, BELGIAN¹

It is extremely gratifying to me and to every Belgian to find that the memory of our compatriot, Father Louis Hennepin, is revered and the history of his achievements commemorated here on the spot where he made the great discovery of the falls which he named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. I want to thank you, not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of the Belgian nation for this splendid tribute to the memory of our fellow countryman. And, although I have received no special message from the spirit world, I am confident that the good Father Hennepin himself must look down with satisfaction upon this scene and that he is gratified to know that his great exploit is not forgotten by those who followed in his footsteps and who have built a great metropolis where he found a primeval forest.

Although I have no direct communication from Father Hennepin, I have here a message, which I will now read to you, from his fellow townsmen and from the mayor of Ath, where he was born:

ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMUNE OF ATH
ATH, September 20th, 1930

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT DE LIGNE, BELGIAN
AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON.

HIGHNESS:

The population of Ath has been deeply gratified to learn that the City of Minneapolis proposes to celebrate, on the 12th day of October next, the 250th Anniversary of the Discovery of the Falls of the Mississippi by a son of Ath, the Father Hennepin.

The people of our community beg you to be kind enough to

¹ This address by His Highness, the Prince de Ligne, Belgian ambassador to the United States, was read in his absence by the Viscount de Lantsheere, first secretary of the Belgian embassy, at the program held in the Minneapolis Auditorium on October 12 in celebration of the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. *Ed.*

convey to the City of Minneapolis, and to the Committee which is organizing these ceremonies, their most sincere and grateful appreciation of this signal honor rendered to their illustrious fellow citizen.

The Town of Ath, on its part, has long since dedicated one of its streets to the great explorer Hennepin, and has given his name, which is ever held in honor here, to one of our public fountains, of which a photograph is annexed.²

Please accept, Highness, the assurance of our grateful appreciation and of our high respect.

THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCILLORS
THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNE

I may say that I, too, have a rather special personal interest in Father Hennepin, for, although I cannot claim to be one of his fellow townsmen, I may at least claim to be in a way one of his neighbors. I do not mean to say that I lived around there during the good friar's lifetime, but my ancestors then lived only a few miles from Ath at the Castle of Beloeil, which is still our family seat. Moreover, I believe that one of my ancestors may have been the indirect cause of Hennepin's entering the Franciscan order of Recollects, which in turn was the direct cause of his becoming a missionary and explorer in America. This ancestor of mine was Jean de Ligne, who seems to have contracted a habit of building churches and religious houses (either from extreme piety, or, as some historians hint, as expiation for his many sins) and among others he founded at Ath in 1445 a monastery for the order of Recollects. It was within the shadow of this friary that Louis Hennepin was born and spent his early youth, and it is said that his thoughts were turned toward a religious life, and especially toward the order of Recollects, by the proximity and influence of the monastery that Jean de Ligne had built. I am glad to think that one of my family had some part, even thus accidentally, in turning the mind of Father Hennepin toward that career which eventually brought him to the Falls of St.

² Pictures of the Rue Hennepin and the Hennepin pump in Ath appear *ante*, p. 3. *Ed.*

Anthony and which gives me the privilege and the pleasure of being here in Minneapolis today.

In the case of Father Hennepin, as in the case of Homer, Columbus, and other historic figures, several towns have claimed the honor of being his birthplace. But the records leave no doubt that Hennepin was a native of Ath in the Belgian province of Hainaut. It is clearly stated in his *Nouveau voyage* that he was born at Ath and that he was a fellow citizen of the Jesuit Father Pierson, a contemporary missionary among the Sioux Indians in what is now Wisconsin.

According to the old records of the seventeenth century, Hennepin's father, Gaspard Hennepin, owned two houses, numbers 38 and 39, in what was then known as the "Street behind the Recollects" and which is today the Impasse Camberfosse. The rear entrance to the Franciscan friary was next door at number 40 — a site now occupied by a spinning mill. On the exterior wall of the neighboring church may be seen the memorial stone marking the burial place of Gaspard Hennepin and Robertine Leleup, his wife; while in the archives of that church will be found the record of baptism of their six children. He whose achievements we celebrate today was baptized on April 7, 1640, under the name of Johannes. It is supposed that he adopted the name of Louis at the time of his confirmation or on the occasion of his admission to the priesthood.

After studying at the Latin school at Ath, Hennepin went to the Recollect monastery at Bethune, where he studied under his compatriot, Father de la Ribourde, who also went as a missionary to America and who was there massacred by the Indians. It was at the friary of Bethune that Hennepin received the gray robe of a Franciscan friar. In going to Bethune, Hennepin did not expatriate himself, for at that period Bethune was still, as it had been for centuries, a town of the Belgian provinces, or, as they were then generally

called, the Spanish Netherlands. It was not until 1679 that the territory including Bethune was ceded to Louis XIV and became a town of France.

I have dwelt on Father Hennepin's nativity and early life not because it is anything new to you here in Minnesota who are already familiar with his history, but rather, as the lawyers say, "for the record," and because many historians, even those of the highest rank, have carelessly attributed his origin to countries other than his own. He has sometimes been mentioned as a "Flemish priest," which is not far wrong, as Flemings and Walloons are all one family; but, as a matter of fact, he was a Walloon—that is a native of our French-speaking provinces—and he only learned Flemish by going to study that language at Ghent, where his sister lived. I have also seen him mentioned as "a Dutch friar," which is still further from the mark. More frequently he is spoken of as a Frenchman, presumably because he went to America as a missionary with the great French explorer, La Salle. And that usually accurate authority, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, goes so far as to change not only his nationality but also his religious order in calling him a "French Jesuit."

Belgium is too proud of its great son to permit him to be adopted by our neighbors. At the same time we acknowledge with appreciation that it was under the protection of France that Father Hennepin was enabled to prosecute his work as a missionary and explorer in America. But in the great work of founding New France on the American continent, there is glory enough for the great French pioneers,—such as La Salle, Marquette, Jolliet, Du Luth, and others, to whose exploits I wish to pay tribute here today,—as well as for the Belgian Father Hennepin and other Belgian priests who shared in their great enterprise.

From the little we know of Hennepin's early life, he seems to have been, in addition to a faithful and pious follower of St. Francis, a man zealous in good works, of strong physique,

and of energetic nature, with a love for "the great open spaces" and a spirit of adventure. For a while he served as army chaplain with the troops of his country against the invading forces of Louis XIV. We hear of him at the siege of Maastricht and at the battle of Seneffe. A year or two later he found opportunity to fulfill his long-cherished wish to go as a missionary to the New World.

The fame of Father Hennepin rests upon the comparatively short period of his life which he spent as a missionary and explorer in America and upon the description which he wrote of the upper Mississippi Valley and its inhabitants. His *Description de la Louisiane* was the first published description of this section of your country, and it is now a rare and expensive piece of Americana. It was one of the "best sellers" of its day, and Father Hennepin may be considered Minnesota's first "booster" and publicity man as well as its first historian. He was also your first missionary and first teacher, although it seems that he learned more from the Indians than they did from him and his efforts in the religious line bore no immediate fruit. Judging from the map which accompanied his book, it seems that he was also a rather good geographer, and he may be said to be the first man to "put you on the map."

Whether Hennepin ever explored — or ever claimed to have explored — the lower Mississippi, as indicated in later editions of his book, or whether that narrative was an unauthorized intercalation by the publisher is a question that has caused much discussion and much vituperation of the good friar by American historians. It is too intricate a subject for me to enter upon today, but I am glad to know that Father Hennepin's reputation has defenders and that his character was ably defended here fifty years ago at the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of his discovery by that great prelate of the church, His Grace, Archbishop Ireland, whose memory we revere as a faithful friend to Belgium and as a great exemplar of the Christian faith.

Whatever be the truth of that matter, we know that in 1682, two years after Hennepin's visit to the upper Mississippi, La Salle explored the lower Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico and officially took possession of the whole valley — including the spot where we now stand — in the name of his sovereign, the king of France. By that action the ancestors of my friend, Dr. Eastman, became Frenchmen over night, although perhaps they did not know it.³ Although Father Hennepin was not on that voyage, La Salle was accompanied by another Belgian priest of the order of Recollects, Father Zenobe Membré, who was the chronicler of the expedition. And when La Salle met his untimely death in Louisiana a few years later, there was at his side in his last moments still another Belgian Franciscan friar, Father Anastasius Douay.

I seem to be wandering from the subject of the hero of the day, but being like Father Hennepin something of an advertiser myself, I could not resist the temptation to remind you that my fellow countrymen — and especially Hennepin's brother friars of the order of Recollects — had a considerable part in the early history of this great waterway which connects Minneapolis with the sea. I may wander in my discourse as the Mississippi wanders in its course, but I can give you the comforting assurance that I shall not be so long.

Let us get back to Father Hennepin. When the good friar with his two companions paddled up what you now familiarly call "Ole Man River," he was met at about the border of Minnesota by a reception committee of Sioux Indians, who made him their somewhat unwilling guest and took him on a journey that eventually led him to this spot. I want to express to Dr. Eastman my appreciation for this action on the part of his ancestors, for, if it had not been for them, Hennepin might never have discovered these falls which the Indians

³ Dr. Charles Eastman, the noted Sioux author and lecturer, was also a speaker at the Hennepin exercises in Minneapolis. *Ed.*

called "Minihaha" and which Father Hennepin renamed in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, one of the early saints of the Franciscan order. Perhaps the Indians knew that he had been the first white man to make a sketch of Niagara and was a specialist on waterfalls; or perhaps, like patriotic Minnesotans, they thought it was about time to attract tourists to the country and to begin the good work that is now carried on by your Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association by less coercive means.

Hennepin was enthusiastic about the country, as he had every right to be, but he was rather pessimistic about the possibility of converting and civilizing the Sioux. He little foresaw that on the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of his visit one of his compatriots would be here on the same spot, surrounded by all the refinements of civilization, and would have the pleasure of listening to an eloquent discourse from a Christian gentleman, a distinguished physician and scholar, a descendant of the Indian chief who made the friar captive.

Another thing that Hennepin could not foresee — and it is a thing that would have given him infinite pleasure — is that the falls which he discovered would one day supply the motive force to grind grain and furnish bread to the starving people of his own country. I allude to the spontaneous generosity of the people of Minneapolis in sending flour to feed the suffering women and children in Belgium during their captivity under the German occupation of our country. We shall always remember with gratitude your many activities for Belgian relief and we shall never forget the "Millers' Belgian Relief" organized by your fellow citizen, Mr. William C. Edgar, and supported by millers throughout the grain states. It was also Mr. Edgar who in the early days of the war organized throughout the Northwest the state-wide Belgian relief committees which served as a nucleus for that splendid relief commission

formed by Mr. Herbert Hoover. We well remember among your other bounties your millers' relief ship, the "South Point," with its cargo of half a million dollars' worth of flour which was distributed to the famishing in Belgium. You not only fed the hungry, but you clothed the naked, for, after the flour had been distributed, the sacks were made into shirts for the children and many of our youngsters were to be seen running about labeled "Pillsbury's Best," "Gold Medal," or "Millers' Relief." You may find some of those shirts in use today, as they seem to be of good quality like your flour; you will certainly still find some of the sacks embroidered and made into sofa cushions as souvenirs of your generosity; and you will find in our hearts everlasting gratitude to the people of your community.

We Belgians are proud to think that, through the explorations of our compatriot, Father Hennepin, we are, at least in some small way, connected with the early history of your great state of Minnesota. There is also a still earlier historic connection, although a somewhat shadowy one, which dates back to the century before Hennepin's visit. At that time all North America was claimed as the dominion of the king of Spain and the monarch who sat upon the throne of Spain was the sovereign of our Belgian provinces, the great Emperor Charles V, a Belgian born at Ghent. Consequently, in the first half of the sixteenth century America and Belgium were united under the scepter of the same monarch. In modern times one of my compatriots has had a more practical connection with the history of Minnesota and especially with the original inhabitants, the Sioux Indians. This is Father de Smet, a Jesuit priest who was born at Termonde in East Flanders in 1801 and who entered the priesthood at St. Louis in 1823. Father de Smet's "little parish" extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and even to the regions beyond. During the forty-seven years of his mission

in America, he was a great power for good in Christianizing, educating, and civilizing the Indian tribes. He won the respect and confidence both of the white men and the Indians, and in those troublous times frequently was called upon by the American government to act as intermediary and peacemaker. He acted in that capacity during the Sioux wars in the sixties at a moment when, as General Stanley remarked, "Father De Smedt alone of all the white race could penetrate to the midst of the Indians and return alive."

I must not dwell too long on the old family ties which bind Belgians and Minnesotans together, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the visit of our king, who came here in his youth as the guest of the late James J. Hill. I know that His Majesty has the most vivid recollection of this great agricultural and industrial region and of the hospitality he received in the Twin Cities. It was a source of great regret to him that he could not revisit these pleasant scenes during his trip to the United States in 1919, and I know that he will be deeply touched by your celebration in honor of this good Belgian, Father Hennepin, and by the many evidences of friendship to Belgium which you have manifested on this and on countless other occasions.

My friends, I have been deeply impressed by the solemn service at the Basilica of St. Mary this morning, by the sympathetic action of the Knights of Columbus in raising a statue to Father Hennepin, by the outpouring of your people to do honor to his memory, by your many evidences of friendship to my country, and your hospitality and kindness to myself. On behalf of all my fellow countrymen, as well as on my own behalf, I offer you most hearty thanks and the assurance of our most cordial and friendly wishes for the ever continuing prosperity and happiness of your community.

PRINCE ALBERT DE LIGNE

BELGIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D. C.



POSTS IN THE MINNESOTA FUR-TRADING AREA, 1660-1855

The fur-trading post is the symbol for so much in the history of Minnesota that no apology is needed for issuing a map that shows, as far as is known at present, the sites of all the important forts in that general area. The word "fort" is used advisedly, for it was the customary expression used by the traders and *voyageurs* in speaking of their wilderness homes. Records of the early British period show that the word referred to the stockade that surrounded the post, but throughout later Minnesota history it was used to include the entire group of buildings surrounded by their palisades.

The first duty of the *voyageurs* on reaching their wintering ground was to erect a fort under the direction of their clerk, unless, of course, the post was already established and supplied with buildings. A consultation was frequently held with the chief Indians as to the best site. When this was determined, a clearing was made, trees were cut and hewed into proper lengths, and a storehouse and "shop" were erected. Next came the clerk's house, then a house for the men, and finally a high stockade. The day on which the great gate was hung and locked for the first time marked the completion of the post in the eyes of the men and was the occasion for a celebration, the chief feature of which was the inevitable dole of "drams." Other buildings, such as a root house or a magazine, might be added, and a flagstaff was always put up in the inclosure. Often a well was dug within the stockade. Chimneys of mud and sticks were put up at the ends of the dwellings and roofs were thatched with boughs held down by poles or sticks. As nails were expensive and heavy to take into the interior, the logs were held in place in a unique way. Grooves were cut in upright logs set at each corner of the

foundation. Down these grooves were slipped the ends of the logs, which were cut to fit exactly between the uprights. Thus one log lay in place above another, held in position by the vertical logs. A certain kind of white clay served admirably in place of plaster and whitewash and gave a neat appearance to the interiors. Puncheon floors were laid in the living quarters, bunks were constructed against the wall, rough tables and stools were made, and windows — one or two to a cabin — were covered with oiled deerskin in lieu of glass. Such cabins, filled with the odors of game roasting on blazing grates that flung fantastic shadows over guns, knives, and snowshoes on the walls were not unhomelike and were the prototype of many a pioneer's home as the frontier moved westward.

The number of these forts on Minnesota soil will astonish not a few, for the general impression seems to be that prior to territorial days the region was almost uninhabited save by Indians. To disabuse one's mind of any such misconception it is necessary only to consult the lists of licenses issued to traders in the French and British periods, and to read the numerous diaries of fort life that, fortunately, have been preserved. From them one gets not only a fairly accurate idea of the number of men, but also their names and something of their personalities. These records are fascinating reading — especially the diaries — and reveal that life in a wilderness fort in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a microcosm full of tragedy and comedy. In addition, the men of these posts, through the great trading companies to which they belonged, were decisive factors in shaping world history. For the fur trade was a major industry and to control it in North America wars were fought and territories lost and won by France, England, and the United States. The great companies represented in the Minnesota region after the French period were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company during the years from 1763 to 1816, and the American Fur Company from 1816 to the middle forties. Of

**POSTS IN THE MINNESOTA
FUR-TRADING AREA
1660-1855**

This map illustrates the extensive fur-trading network in the Minnesota region from 1660 to 1855. It features a dense network of rivers and lakes, with numerous trading posts indicated by numbered dots. Key geographical features include Lake Superior to the northeast, Lake Michigan to the northwest, and the Mississippi River forming the western border. Major river systems shown are the Red River, Minnesota River, St. Louis River, and the Missouri River. Lakes depicted include Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Itasca, Lake Umbagog, and several smaller lakes like Lake Superior, Lake Umbagog, and Lake Superior. The map is densely populated with numbers representing individual trading posts, particularly along the major river corridors and around the Great Lakes. A dashed line runs horizontally across the lower portion of the map, likely representing a significant geographical or administrative boundary.

1660-1855

these the Northwest Company and the American Fur Company had by far the greatest number of posts. In most cases of uncertainty as to the affiliations of a post, the period when it was functioning affords an excellent clue as to which of these companies maintained it. Thus, prior to 1816, most of the posts in what is now Minnesota belonged to the Northwest Company; after 1821 nearly all the posts of that area were American Fur Company stations.

The accompanying map cannot lay any claim to finality, though it is the result of research extending over a period of several years. Just as other diaries and other documents will be discovered dealing with the region of the upper Mississippi, just as inevitably will there be mention in them of other posts. In the main, however, the map shows the chief establishments for the period from the beginning of French exploitation, or shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, to 1855. No attempt has been made to show the branch houses that usually lasted but a season or two. Nor have all the references been cited that are known. In general the plan has been to give representative references that adequately cover the history of a post. Where exact sites can be located in more or less detail, a dot on the map accompanies the reference figure. If the general vicinity of a post only can be determined, the figure alone is given. In the course of time it is hoped that greater exactitude will be possible, either as a result of the discovery of ruins of posts or through the finding of additional source material. Information that will lead to greater knowledge concerning any post of the area is earnestly solicited. A few posts have been included that were not within the area of modern Minnesota, largely because they were on important trade routes leading directly into that area.

All the material cited in the references, printed or manuscript, unless otherwise indicated, is available in the collections

of the Minnesota Historical Society. If the originals of documents are located elsewhere, copies of them are in the possession of that institution.

1. FORT WILLIAM. An early French post was located on or near the site of the modern Fort William. The first post seems to have been established there in 1679 by Du Luth. After the rediscovery of the old French canoe route via the Kaministiquia River in 1784 and the realization by British traders that the old rendezvous, Grand Portage, was within the boundaries of the United States, the latter post was abandoned and a new fort was built at Fort William between the years 1801 and 1804. The early post was called both Fort Kaministiquia (spelled variously) and Fort Three Rivers.

Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 226 (Madison, 1925); Solon J. Buck, "The Story of the Grand Portage," *ante*, 5:14-27; Jacques N. Bellin, map of *Partie Occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada, par Mr Bellin . . . en l'an 1755* (Paris, 1755); Edward D. Neill, *The History of Minnesota: from the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time*, 800 map (Minneapolis, 1882).

2. GRAND PORTAGE. Several posts are known to have been erected, wholly or partially, at the eastern end of the Grand Portage, the great carrying place which served as the connecting link between the Great Lakes and the route to the plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific coast. The Northwest Company's fort there was the most important post of that company and witnessed every summer a rendezvous of hundreds of partners, traders, and *engagés*. Roderic McKenzie indicates in his "Reminiscences," that one of the Northwest Company's posts there was built in 1785. About 1793 a post was begun by David and Peter Grant a little to the east of the Northwest Company's fort; and a few years later the X Y Company likewise built a fort close by. After the War of 1812 American traders had small posts at Grand Portage.

Buck, *ante*, 5:14-27, gives the history of the several posts and bibliographical references. Other references occur in "'Reminiscences' by the

Honorable Roderic McKenzie Being Chiefly a Synopsis of Letters from Sir Alexander Mackenzie," in Louis R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 1: 11 (Quebec, 1889); John McDonell Dairy, July 5, 1793, Masson Papers, McGill University, Montreal; a permit to take whisky to the post at Grand Portage, August 2, 1824, Sibley Papers; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (19 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 118—serial 135-138).

3. FORT CHARLOTTE was established by the Northwest Company at the western end of the Grand Portage. The X Y Company had a fort near by. The exact site of Fort Charlotte was determined by an exploring party in the summer of 1922, when cellars and other remains were discovered. In the entry of his diary under date of August 5, 1793, John McDonell gives a clue to the date of establishment of the Northwest Company's post: "Mr. Donald Ross has been so long in charge of Fort Charlotte that he has acquired the respectable name of Governor."

A manuscript diagram of the ruins of Fort Charlotte executed by E. Dewey Albinson, assisted by Alvan G. Eastman, August 10, 1922; McDonell Diary, May 10 to October 8, 1793, Masson Papers, McGill University; Buck, *ante*, 5: 22.

4. MOOSE LAKE. There is evidence that a Cleveland fur company had a post on the American side of the lake in 1844. Later the Hudson's Bay Company had a post there.

Sir George Simpson to Ramsay Crooks, May 14, 1844, American Fur Company Papers, in the possession of the New York Historical Society, New York City; H. H. McCullough to McIntyre, September 24, 1859, letters received from the state department, United States Department of the Interior Archives.

5. GRAND MARAIS. For at least one winter, that of 1823-24, a fort was maintained at or near Grand Marais.

Bela Chapman Letter Book, September 23, 1823, to June 4, 1824, Sibley Papers.

6. BASSWOOD LAKE. Alexander Mackenzie refers to several French trading establishments on the islands and banks of Lake Saganagan, or Basswood Lake. James Isbister of the Hudson's Bay Company apparently spent the winter of 1841-42 and several succeeding seasons there. The French name for the lake, Lac

du Bois Blanc, was used for many years by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the Years 1789 and 1793*, lii (London, 1801); Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names, Their Origin and Historic Significance*, 297 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17); E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian Northwest, Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, 822, 842, 858 (Ottawa, 1914).

7. VERMILION LAKE. Two forts are known to have been built on the shores of this lake. One belonged to the Northwest Company; the other was in charge of a trader named Roussain, who was probably subordinate to William Aitken of the American Fur Company. Aitken is known to have had a post there in 1824. Both posts are shown on a manuscript map compiled and drawn by Alfred J. Hill in 1866. On that map Roussain's post is shown almost due south from the earlier fort, on the headland running east below Crane Point. Two Roussains are mentioned in a list of employees of the American Fur Company in the Fond du Lac department in 1834.

A permit to take whisky to the post at Vermilion Lake, August 2, 1824, Sibley Papers; Joseph G. Norwood, "Geological Report of a Survey of Portions of Wisconsin and Minnesota," in David D. Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 314 (Philadelphia, 1852); list of employees of the American Fur Company, 1834, American Fur Company Papers; Alfred J. Hill, "Map of Vermilion Lake, St. Louis Co. Minnesota. From Official Surveys and Other Sources," March, 1866; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1831 (22 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 121 — serial 219).

8. FOND DU LAC (British). [The earliest reference thus far found to a post near the site of modern Duluth is Jean Baptiste Perrault's statement that in 1784 he saw there a wintering house belonging to "Mr. Dufaut" of the Northwest Company. In 1793 Perrault erected Fort St. Louis there for this company; it was maintained until about the year 1816. As the chief post of a department, it had much prestige.

Jean Baptiste Perrault, "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of Northern America,"

in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 519 and map, 568, 569 (1909-1910); David Thompson, map of "Estuary of the River St. Louis," in *Minnesota-Wisconsin Boundary Case, Brief for the State of Wisconsin*, 148 (1918); David Thompson, *Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, lxxvii, 285, 286 (Champlain Society, *Publications*, no. 12—Toronto, 1916).

9. FOND DU LAC (American). The American Fur Company's post at Fond du Lac was erected in 1816. It continued throughout the period of that corporation's existence, or until the middle forties. It was an important station, though it was not, like the Northwest Company post at the same place, the chief post of a department.

Map accompanying James Allen, *Expedition to Northwest Indians* (23 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 323—serial 257); map accompanying Joseph N. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 237—serial 380); Leander Judson, *Map of the Entire Territories of Wisconsin & Iowa* (Cincinnati, [1838]); Charles W. Borup, diagram of Fond du Lac post, January 2, 1836, American Fur Company Papers; James D. Doty, "Papers," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 13: 202 (1895); William Johnston, "Letters on the Fur Trade 1833," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 155, 158; Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, 270-277* (Baltimore, 1827); Norwood, in Owen, *Report*, 270-272.

10. LITTLE VERMILION LAKE. An early French map shows a post on "Vermilion Lake," the name applied, apparently, to Crane Lake. This name was also employed by such cartographers as David Thompson and Leander Judson. An anonymous map published about 1820 shows a Northwest Company's post in the same vicinity. At the Northwest Company's post on Vermilion Lake Dr. John McLoughlin spent the winter of 1807-08.

"Carte des nouvelles decouvertes dans l'Ouest du Canada dressee . . . par Mr de la Galissoniere en 1750," in a folio volume entitled "Amerique Septentrionale. Canada," library of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Paris; "A Map of Part of the Indian Territories in North America," British Museum, printed in Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, 144 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7—Berkeley, 1918); Dr. John McLoughlin, "The Indians from Fort William to Lake of the Woods," Masson Papers, McGill University; map accompanying Thompson, *Narrative*; Judson, *Map of the Entire Territories of Wisconsin & Iowa*.

11. RAINY LAKE (1). Fort St. Pierre, built by La Vérendrye in 1732, is shown at the outlet of Rainy Lake on a French map of 1737. Fort Tekamamiouen is located on the same site on a map drawn about 1738 by La Jémeraye. As late as 1793 the remains of this fort were visible. Later the Northwest Company established a post a few miles down the river just beyond the waterfall. During the period of competition between the Northwest Company and X Y Company, the latter also had a fort there. Still later a Hudson's Bay Company fort was located there and was called Fort Frances, after the wife of Sir George Simpson, governor of the company from 1821 to 1860. One of the traders in charge was Dr. John McLoughlin of Oregon fame. The town on this site is still known as Fort Frances. This post served as a base for the men from the Athabasca department during the period of the Northwest Company. To this post they took their packs in the early summer, and there they renewed their supplies; thus they escaped the necessity of going to Grand Portage. An Athabasca House formed one of the buildings within the stockade.

Christophe D. la Jémeraye, "Carte d'une partie du Lac Superieur avec la decouverte de la Riviere depuis le grand portage," and "Carte contenant Les Nouvelles Dé couvertes De L'ouest En canada, Lac Riuieres Et Nations qui y habitent En Lannée 1790," in "Amerique Septentrionale, Canada," library of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Paris; a French map of 1737 reproduced in Newton H. Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota*, vol. 6, plate 3 (Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Final Report*—St. Paul, 1901); Kellogg, *French Régime*, 336; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, lvi; Nellis M. Crouse, "The Location of Fort Maurepas," in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 208 (September, 1928); diary of a clerk of the Northwest Company, probably Hugh Faries, kept at the Rainy Lake post during the winter of 1804-05, entries for August 26 and September 28, 1804, Masson Papers, Canadian Archives; Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report, Together with the Proceedings of the Committee*, 466 maps (*British Parliamentary Papers*, Commons, 1857, 2 session, vol. 15).

12. RAINY LAKE (2). [A map by William W. Warren seems to indicate that he considered 1823 as the date of the founding of the American Fur Company's post at the outlet of Rainy Lake on American territory, but John Tanner was at the post in 1822 and does not refer to it as a new establishment. Major Stephen H. Long visited it in 1823, but does not indicate that it was newly

built. Probably it was established soon after 1816, when the American Fur Company became the chief fur-trading concern in the region of the Great Lakes south of the international boundary.

Stephen H. Long Diary, August 31, 1823; John Tanner, *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures*, 263-281 (James edition—New York, 1830); map entitled "Warren's Distribution of the Ojibways or Anishinaubay in Minnesota 1852," in Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, 583 (St. Paul, 1911); Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

13. RAINY RIVER. A Northwest Company post was situated about 1820 near the entrance to the Lake of the Woods on American territory.

Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

14. HUNGRY HALL. As late as 1872 a traveler noted that this was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the north side of Rainy River. Doubtless it was established much earlier.

George M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sanford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872*, 49-51 and map (Toronto, 1873); Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, 376 map (New Haven, 1930).

15. FORT ST. CHARLES was built by La Vérendrye in 1732 on the northernmost point of what is now Minnesota. It remained in existence till the eve of the conquest of New France, and it is probably the most widely known of the French forts in the Minnesota region. From it La Vérendrye went out on some of his earlier explorations of the Northwest. As a result of investigations begun by the Jesuits of St. Boniface, Manitoba, in 1902, the ruins of the fort were discovered in 1908.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 336, 337; Francis Schaefer, "Fort St. Charles," in *Acta et Dicta*, 2: 114-133, 240 map (St. Paul, 1909); Lawrence J. Burpee, "The Lake of the Woods Tragedy," in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, series 2, vol. 9, section 2, p. 15-28 (Ottawa, 1903); Burpee, *Pathfinders of the Great Plains*, 20-43 (*Chronicles of Canada Series*, vol. 19—Toronto, 1915); Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his sons, *Journals and Letters*, 9, 95, 103 n., and index (Champlain Society, *Publications*—Toronto, 1927); La Jémeraye, "Carte d'une partie du Lac Supérieur," in "Amérique Septentrionale. Canada," library of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Paris; Crouse, in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 208.

16, 17. LAKE OF THE WOODS. At Whitefish Lake and Lac Plat (Shoal Lake), arms of the Lake of the Woods, the Northwest and X Y companies had posts during the winter of 1804-05.

Faries Diary, September 13, October 23, 31, December 15, 20, 22, 1804; January 12, 1805, Masson Papers, Canadian Archives; "Map of the Country from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean," accompanying *Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement* (London, 1859); Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 376 map.

18. RAT PORTAGE HOUSE. This was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company at the outlet of the Lake of the Woods. It stood on what is now Miller's Island. The present town of Kenora was originally known as Rat Portage. The date of the establishment of this post has not been ascertained, but it was visited by Paul Kane in 1845. According to Hugh Faries, the Northwest and X Y companies had posts at the Dalles, near this place, during the winter of 1804-05.

Faries Diary, October 31, November 2, 1804; January 12, 1805, Masson Papers, Canadian Archives; Lawrence J. Burpee to Minnesota Historical Society, February 10, 1928; "Map of the Country from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean," accompanying *Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*; Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*, 318 (*Master-works of Canadian Authors*, vol. 7—Toronto, 1925).

19. PORTAGE DE L'ISLE FORT was located at the junction of the regular canoe route between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg and one from Lake Nipigon and James Bay, a branch of Hudson Bay.

Mackenzie, *Voyages*, lix; McDonell Diary, August 26, 1793, Masson Papers, McGill University; map accompanying Thompson, *Narrative*; Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

20, 21. BAS DE LA RIVIÈRE FORT. At the mouth of the Winnipeg River there was at one time a French fort. It may have been known as Fort Maurepas, the name used earlier for La Vérendrye's establishment near the mouth of the Red River. John McDonell wrote in his diary under date of August 30, 1793: "Passed the three Decharges and the last portages of the River Winipic. Upon a high round knoll between the last Rapid on the

N. E. Shore of the River stood a french Fort of which there is now not a vestige remaining except the clearing. This place is now called by the men Pointe au F——e. Two leagues lower down on the opposite side of the River is the North West Company's Fort built by Mons^r Toussaint Le Sieur a year ago. This is also called bas de la Riviere Fort." This post was called Fort Alexander at the time of Hind and Dawson's expedition of 1858.

McDonell Diary, Masson Papers, McGill University; Crouse, in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 206-222; La Vérendrye, *Journals and Letters*, 9, 25, 97 n., 198 n.; Thompson, *Narrative*, 181; "Map of the Country from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean," accompanying *Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*.

22. RED RIVER. On an anonymous map in the British Museum, evidently prepared later than 1816 and before 1821, a Northwest Company fort is shown at the mouth of the Red River.

Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

23. FORT MAUREPAS was built by La Vérendrye in 1734 near the mouth of the Red River. It was removed within a short time to the mouth of the Winnipeg River.

Crouse, in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 206-222; La Vérendrye, *Journals and Letters*, 9, 25, 97 n., 198 n.

24. FROBISHER'S FORT. John McDonell in 1793 camped six leagues up the Red River on the "old site of M^r Jos. Frobishers Fort, the first he ever entered [*wintered*] at in the interior of the North West [1770-71]." This post was probably at the mouth of Nettly Creek.

McDonell Diary, September 4, 1793, Masson Papers, McGill University; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 195.

25. LOWER FORT GARRY. Old Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry, was built by Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1831, and was for many years the heart of the Red River colony.

Donald Gunn, *History of Manitoba from the Earliest Settlement to 1835*, 269 (Ottawa, 1880); "Map of Part of the Valley of Red River North of the 49th Parallel," accompanying *Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*.

26. THE FORKS. About "the Forks" of the Red River, where the city of Winnipeg now stands, a great number of forts were

built. The earliest was Fort Rouge, which was built by one of La Vérendrye's men about 1738. Thereafter from time to time a trading post occupied the angle between the two rivers, or its immediate vicinity, under such various names as Fort Gibraltar, Fort Douglas, and Fort Garry. Besides these there were nameless forts built by individual traders.

Charles N. Bell, *The Old Forts of Winnipeg (1738-1927)* (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transactions*, new series, no. 3—Winnipeg, 1927); Crouse, in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 206-222.

27. SALE RIVER. John Hay, who traveled down the Red River in 1794, mentions a Northwest Company post about ten and a half leagues south of the city of Winnipeg at "Mire River," probably the present Sale River.

John Hay's notes on "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 209.

28. RAT RIVER. There is evidence that the Northwest Company had a post at the mouth of Rat River at least for a time just before its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

29. SCRATCHING RIVER. The French name for Morris River was "Rivière aux Grâties," or Scratching River. The erection of a fort there in 1801 by the X Y Company prompted Alexander Henry to build an opposition post.

Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry . . . and of David Thompson*, 1: 187, 188 (New York, 1897).

30. ROSEAU RIVER. There has been much discussion concerning the existence of a post at Roseau River in La Vérendrye's time. Crouse does not believe that such a fort was erected. On the other hand, a French map of 1737, probably prepared by the explorer himself, shows at the mouth of the river the same symbol that he has used elsewhere on the map to designate a fort, though no name accompanies it. In the time of Alexander Henry, the younger, about 1800, there was a post at "Rivière aux Roseaux . . . [on the] N. side of the entrance of that river."

Crouse, in *Canadian Historical Review*, 9: 211; Coues, *New Light*, 1: 69, 70; La Vérendrye, *Journals and Letters*, 116 map.

31. ROSEAU LAKE is undoubtedly the "Lac du Rosa" and the "Lac de Rezier" of the United States government's list of trading posts in the thirties of the past century. Jerome Semat, who was an employee of Norman W. Kittson, a famous trader for the American Fur Company in the region during the forties, had a trading post in the present Roseau County. According to Semat's description it was located on the Roseau River two miles above Roseau Lake "at a point situated near what is now known as the 'Froid Farm.'" A Hudson's Bay Company post, abandoned in 1851, was also situated on this lake.

J. W. Durham, *Minnesota's Last Frontier*, 9 (Minneapolis, 1925); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1830 (21 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 41—serial 206-207); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1831 (serial 219); list of posts, Henry R. Schoolcraft to Lewis Cass, October 24, 1831, Letters Received, Miscellaneous, United States Indian Office Archives; map accompanying S. J. Dawson, *Report on the Line of Route between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement* (Ottawa, 1869); "Map of Part of the Valley of Red River North of the 49th Parallel," accompanying *Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*.

32. WARROAD. This post seems to have been established by the American Fur Company, probably about 1820.

Licenses to Trade with Indians, 1825 (serial 136); Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives.

33. PEMBINA MOUNTAIN. In the year 1800 the Pembina Mountain, or Hair Hills post, was one of Alexander Henry's substations.

Coues, *New Light*, 1: 118, 119, 189; Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

34-37. PEMBINA. A number of posts were built at Pembina. In the early nineties of the eighteenth century Peter Grant of the Northwest Company had a post on the east side of the Red River. In 1797 Charles J. B. Chaboillez built a fort on the south side of Pembina River near its mouth. In 1801 Alexander Henry built on the north side of the Pembina River. Thomas Miller of the Hudson's Bay Company established a post opposite Henry's on the east side of Red River. The X Y Company began to build near Henry's post in 1802. In 1812 the Hudson's Bay Company

built Fort Daer on the site of modern Pembina. William A. Aitken had a post at Pembina as early as 1824.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37:574; Coues, *New Light*, 1:79-81 and note, 181, 187, 195; Thompson, *Narrative*, lxxv; William T. Boutwell Diary, June 25, 1832, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, vol. 74, no. 83, Boston; Clarence W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, A Fur-trader at Pembina," *ante*, 6:232; Owen, *Report*, 177; William A. Aitken's permit to sell whisky at Pembina and other posts, issued by Schoolcraft, August 2, 1824, Sibley Papers; Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 136); Davidson, *North West Company*, frontispiece map, 144 map, 146.

38. GRANT'S FORT. The only available information concerning Peter Grant's post is contained in David Thompson's statement that, in 1798 after leaving Chaboillez' house, just south of Pembina River, he traveled "S. 10° E. ten and a half miles" up the west side of the Red River and then passed a house which had formerly been occupied by Grant, a trader.

Tyrrell's note, based on Thompson's unpublished notebook, in Thompson, *Narrative*, 251 n.

39. BLACK RIVER. Captain John Pope in 1849 noted the remains of an "English fort twenty years old" just below the mouth of the river opposite Black River in North Dakota. Probably this was a post erected by the Northwest Company about 1800.

Copy of Captain John Pope's field notes, vol. 1, p. 3, Alfred J. Hill Papers.

40. PARK RIVER. A post was built in 1800 by Alexander Henry on the west side of the Red River about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of Park River. Close by, on the east side of the Red River, John Cameron, one of Henry's men, built a post in 1803 at *Rivière aux Marais*, now Snake River.

Coues, *New Light*, 1:91, 134, 229.

41. ROY'S FORT. Thompson in 1798 placed "Roy's" post in latitude 48° 23' 34" N., five and a half miles south of Salt River, on the west side of the Red River. There were so many men named Roy or Le Roy in the fur trade of this period that it is uncertain to which Thompson refers.

Thompson, *Narrative*, 251 n., 252; Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 574.

42. **TURTLE RIVER.** In 1802 John Cameron was sent by Henry to build a fort at Turtle River. The site of an "English post" is located in one of Alfred J. Hill's manuscripts as just south of the mouth of this river.

Coues, *New Light*, 1: 204; Pope's field notes, vol. 1, p. 11, Hill Papers; Hill Notebooks, 16: 23.

43. **GRAND FORKS.** There is considerable evidence that a trading house was located at the "Grand Forks," or the junction of the Red Lake and Red rivers, though little is known of its history. Perhaps the remains found there by Pope in 1849, though described by him as of an "old English fort," were the ruins of a later post, presumably erected by the American Fur Company.

Hill Notebooks, 16: 23, Hill Papers; bill for goods supplied to Alexis Bailly at the forks of the Red River, September 24 to November 10, 1821, Bailly Papers; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1826 (19 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 58 — serial 144-146); list of licenses, 1830, and list of trading posts in the St. Peter's Agency, 1832, Taliaferro Papers.

44. **RED LAKE RIVER.** A post of the Northwest Company was located on the site of the present town of Red Lake Falls. Jean Baptiste Cadotte was in charge in 1798.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 575; Coues, *New Light*, 1: 128; Thompson, *Narrative*, 265; Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

45. **THIEF RIVER.** Perrault mentions Vincent Roy's post at the junction of Thief and Red Lake rivers in 1794.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 570, 573, 574; James P. Schell, *In the Ojibway Country; a Story of Early Missions on the Minnesota Frontier*, 49 (Walhalla, North Dakota, 1911); map accompanying Thompson, *Narrative*.

46. **RED LAKE (1).** An early British fort was situated on the west side of Red Lake, two miles south of the exit of Red Lake River. Cadotte was there in the winter of 1794-95.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 570; Thompson, *Narrative*, lxxvi, and accompanying map; Coues, *New Light*, 1: 128 n.; Davidson, *North West Company*, 144 map.

47. RED LAKE (2). The Northwest Company had a fort somewhere on the east side of Red Lake about 1790. By 1826 the American Fur Company had established a post there. In 1848 another establishment was made between this fort and the mission station near by.

Davidson, *North West Company*, 42 map; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 545 map; "Section of Lewis and Clark's Map Showing Dakota Country 1804," in Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, 70 (*South Dakota Historical Collections*, vol. 2, pt. 2—1904); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Lawrence Taliaferro to Alexis Bailly (circular letter), April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Owen, *Report*, 177, 326; Mrs. William Lewis to William Handford, September 25, 1848, Lewis Papers.

48. RED LAKE (3). The post on the northeast shore of Red Lake was occupied by James Grant sometime prior to 1784. Joseph Reaume wintered there during the season of 1784-85.

"Map of the Northwest Territories," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 10; Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 533, 545 map.

49. RICE LAKE. William Morrison wintered at Lac La Folle, now Rice Lake, in 1803-04.

Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; William Morrison to his brother, January 16, 1856, in Jacob V. Brower, *The Mississippi River and Its Source*, 123 n. (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 7—1893); Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 545 map.

50. LAKE BEMIDJI. About 1785 the trading post on Lake Traverse, now Lake Bemidji, seems to have been on the east side of the lake, but in 1832 there was a house on the west bank somewhat north of the entrance of the Mississippi.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 545 map; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake*, 46 (New York, 1834); Allen, *Expedition*, 43 (serial 257); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1831 (serial 219).

51. CASS LAKE. In 1794 Perrault built a fort at Upper Red Cedar Lake, the modern Cass Lake, at the entrance of the Red Cedar River. Another of the Northwest Company's posts seems to have been much farther east, close to the outlet of the Missis-

sippi River. Between these two sites and at the west of the entrance of Tongue River was a post of the American Fur Company about 1820.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 545 map, 570, 573; Thompson, *Narrative*, 274-277; Nicholas King, "Map of the Mississippi River from Its Source to the Mouth of the Missouri," accompanying Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the Years 1805-6-7*, vol. 3 (Coues edition—New York, 1895); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1826 (serial 144-146); Edmund F. Ely Diary, February 25, 1834; Nicollet, *Report*, 125; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River*, 131 (Philadelphia, 1855); Norwood, in Owen, *Report*, 323.

52. LAKE WINNEBAGOSHISH. The American Fur Company's post at Lake Winnebagoishish is referred to as that of "Lake Winepeg" by Bela Chapman in his letter book kept during the winter of 1823-24. The post is mentioned but not located by Norwood in his report of 1848.

Chapman Letter Book, September 23, 1823, to June 4, 1824, Sibley Papers; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, frontispiece map, 31; Norwood, in Owen, *Report*, 294; Alonzo Barnard Diary, quoted in James P. Schell, "Fifty Years Ago in Minnesota: Missionary Voyageurs," in *North and West* (Minneapolis, Omaha, and Detroit), 11: 390 (June 20, 1895).

53. BOWSTRING LAKE. Perrault refers to a post, known as the Patchatchanban post, which seems to have been situated on Bowstring Lake about 1785.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 37: 533, 545 map, 573.

54, 55. LEECH LAKE (1). The Northwest Company had at least two posts on this lake, one on Otter Tail Point about 1785 and the other farther to the west as late as 1805.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 545 map; Coues, *New Light*, 1: 274; Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 282, 283, and "Historicogeographical Chart of the Upper Mississippi River," accompanying vol. 3; "Lewis and Clark's Map," in Robinson, *Sioux Indians*, 70; Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 76 map.

56, 57. LEECH LAKE (2). The American Fur Company had a post on Pine Point in 1833. Near it was the house of William

Johnston, the representative of a company working in opposition to the American Fur Company. A mile north of Johnston's post was another American Fur Company fort. One of Schoolcraft's maps shows a contemporaneous post on the east shore.]

Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; list of licenses, 1830, Taliaferro Papers; Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, frontispiece map, 76 map; Johnston, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 180-183.

58. WHITE OAK POINT. Perrault writes that in 1791 three traders had built posts at "la pointe aux chene" (White Oak Point). Probably these were freemen, or traders not associated with a company.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 37: 545 map, 562; "Chart of the Upper Mississippi River," accompanying Pike, *Expeditions*, vol. 3.

59. POKEGAMA FALLS (Grand Rapids). Pike, in telling of his trip up the Mississippi in 1805-06, mentions spending a night at the house of a trader named Grant, perhaps Cuthbert, on the Mississippi. This was nearly or directly opposite the site of the town of Grand Rapids.]

Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 144, and "Chart of the Upper Mississippi River," accompanying vol. 3; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map.

60. SANDY LAKE (1). The Northwest Company's post on Sandy Lake was one of the most important fur-trading stations in the Northwest from 1794, when it was built, until after the War of 1812. It was located on the west side of the lake in the present Aitkin County. In 1833 it was occupied by a trader named Abbott, an employee of a rival of the American Fur Company.]

Irving H. Hart, "The Site of the Northwest Company Post on Sandy Lake," *ante*, 7: 313; Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 139, 140, 281; Ely Diary, October 12, 27, 1833.

61. SANDY LAKE (2). The American Fur Company post at Sandy Lake was built sometime between 1820 and 1832. It was situated near the junction of the Sandy and Mississippi rivers.]

Allen, *Expedition*, 37 (serial 257); Hart, *ante*, 7: 313; Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138).

62. PRAIRIE PORTAGE post was built by Perrault early in 1785. Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 519 map, 521-523.

63. CEDAR LAKE. The Northwest Company in 1806 had a post on the north point of Cedar Lake, then called Lower Red Cedar Lake, near the place where the river issues from it.

Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 134 n., 279, and King, "Map of the Mississippi River," in vol. 3.

64. PINE RIVER fort is mentioned by Perrault in 1784 and 1789.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 37: 522, 556.

65. WHITEFISH LAKE. The Northwest Company had at least two forts on Whitefish Lake. One was in ruins and one was still occupied in 1806. The American Fur Company also had a post there about 1830.

Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 174; Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives.

66. GULL LAKE. A Gull Lake fort is listed among the American Fur Company's posts for the winter of 1823-24. In 1828 Benjamin F. Baker was trading there without a license. The list of licenses issued by the war department in 1831, however, includes one for Gull Lake, presumably an American Fur Company post, since in 1836 Ambrose Davenport of that company was stationed there.

Chapman Letter Book, September 23, 1823, to June 4, 1824, Sibley Papers; Schoolcraft to Benjamin F. Baker, August 11, 1828, Indian Office Archives; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1831 (serial 219); Grace Lee Nute, ed., "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *ante*, 4: 380 n.

67. CROW WING RIVER. James McGill wintered at Crow Wing River as early as 1771. Perrault wintered there in 1790. A house of the American Fur Company on Crow Island in the Mississippi was designated by Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, as Fort Biddle in 1826. In 1837 Clement H. Beaulieu established a trading post near the mouth of the river. Henry M. Rice also had an establishment in this locality. On a manuscript map of the Fort Ripley reservation drafted in 1848 a post is indicated opposite the mouth of Crow Wing River.

James McGill to H. W. Ryland, February 7, 1797, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 25:137-139 (1894); Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37:541, 542, 554, 557; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Allan Morrison, "History of the Fur Trade in the Northwest"; Lieutenant Derby "Map of the Site selected by General Brooke for a Military Post, including the Reservation in the vicinity of the Crow-wing River, Minnesota Territory, Sept. 24th, 1848," United States War Department Archives; W. H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, 477 (St. Paul, 1888).

68. 69. LEAF RIVER. A post was built there by Joseph Reaume in 1792. The American Fur Company also had a post on this river about 1830.

Hay, in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 206, 207; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1827 (20 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 140—serial 172); 1831 (serial 219).

70. LEAF LAKE. The Columbia Fur Company's post at Leaf Lake was given the name of Fort Bolivar by Taliaferro in 1826.

Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map.

71. OTTER TAIL LAKE. The remains of several trading houses have been found at the northeastern extremity of Otter Tail Lake. One of these is probably the ruin of the American Fur Company's post, which was discontinued in 1836.

John Pope, *Report of an Exploration of the Territory of Minnesota*, 37 and map (31 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 42—serial 558); McLeod, "Diary," ante, 4:380 n.

72. BAKER'S POST. In 1832 Benjamin F. Baker had a post two miles below the mouth of the Crow Wing River on the east bank of the Mississippi.

Allen, *Expedition*, 53 (serial 257); Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 116.

73. PLATTE LAKE. The post on this lake mentioned in papers written in the thirties belonged in all likelihood to the American Fur Company.

Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1831 (serial 219); McLeod, "Diary," ante, 4:380 n.

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74. AITKEN'S POST. William A. Aitken had a post on or near the present site of Gregory in Morrison County about 1850.

Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 122 n.]

75-77. MILLE LACS. The American Fur Company had a post on the northeast side of this lake about 1820. The only authority for the location of the French posts on the south shore and a little distance down the Rum River is Warren's map.

Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; Allen, *Expedition*, 54 and map (serial 257); *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1826 (serial 144-146); Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; McLeod, "Diary," *ante*, 4: 380 n.]

78. SNAKE RIVER. Two maps of the thirties show an American Fur Company post on a lake near the head of Snake River. Probably one is a copy of the other, and possibly the authors of both had Pokegama Lake in mind. On the other hand, almost every list of licenses shows a "Snake River" post.]

Map accompanying Allen, *Expedition* (serial 257); Judson, *Map of the Entire Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa*; Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives.

79. RUST'S POST. A trader named Henry Rust had a post in the middle forties about two miles above the mouth of Ground House River, a tributary of Snake River from the west.

Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 47.

80. POKEGAMA LAKE. The Northwest Company's post on Pokegama Lake was for several years an important center of trade. Thomas Connor seems to have erected it in the fall of 1804. Later the American Fur Company had traders there.]

Thomas Connor Diary, October 3, 7, 1804; Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 132, 133; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Schoolcraft to Cass, October 24, 1831, Indian Office Archives; map accompanying David D. Owen, *Report of a Geological Reconnaissance of the Chippewa Land District of Wisconsin* (30 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 57—serial 509); Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 262, 263.

81. WATAB appears to have been an important trading post from 1844 to 1855. Some of the traders there were Asa White, David Gilman, Charles W. W. Borup, Nathan Myrick, and Sylvanus B. Lowry.

Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 462.

82. SAUK RAPIDS is the Grand Rapids referred to by Perrault in his narrative. He mentions passing part of the year 1789 there in the house of one Giasson, perhaps François.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 37: 554, 555; Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 100; Robinson, *Sious Indians*, 70 map.

83. DICKSON'S POST. A post of Robert Dickson was situated just below Sauk Rapids during the winter of 1805-06.

Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 99 n.

84. ELK RIVER. David Faribault established a post on Elk River in 1846.

Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 453.

85, 86. RUM RIVER. [British posts were noted by Pike at Rum River on the west side of the Mississippi in 1805. In 1847 there was a post on the east bank of the Mississippi on the site of Anoka and one on Big Island in the Mississippi near by.]

Map accompanying Pope, *Report* (serial 558); King, "Map of the Mississippi River," accompanying Pike, *Expeditions*, vol. 3; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 444, 450; McLeod, "Diary," ante, 4: 380 n.

87. SUNRISE RIVER. The post of Maurice M. Samuel in 1846 was in front of Sunrise Island on the west bank of the St. Croix River, a little below the mouth of the Sunrise River.

Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 41.

88. ST. CROIX FALLS. The Columbia Fur Company's house at St. Croix Falls was designated as Fort Barbours by Taliaferro in the twenties. Several other traders had houses there from time to time, notably Joseph R. Brown, as late as 1832.

Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 131; Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1826 (serial 144-146); Allen, *Expedition*, 56, 57 (serial 257); John H. Case, "Historical Notes of Grey Cloud Island and Its Vicinity," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 377; Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 303.

89. STANDING CEDAR. The only reference found for a post at this point is Warren's map.

Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map.

90, 91. ST. PETER'S. [Though the entry to the Minnesota, or St. Peter's, River is mentioned by Perrault, Pike, and others,

no record of a post has been found earlier than 1810. In that year Allen Wilmot, Thomas G. Anderson, and Joseph Rolette built a stockaded fort on Pike's Island. In 1818 Jean Baptiste Faribault established a post on this island. Soon thereafter the American Fur Company's post was established on the shore near by, at Mendota, and this became the general dépôt for trade with the Sioux. In 1836 a stone house was built there by the company's agent, Henry H. Sibley. In 1845 the war department gave the trading house of G. W. and W. G. Ewing of Fort Wayne permission to establish a trading post on the Fort Snelling reservation.

Charles Jouett to William Eustis, April 1, 1810, letters received by the secretary of war, War Department Archives; Thomas G. Anderson, "Personal Narrative," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 179 (1882); W. R. Faribault to John H. Thurston, June 1, 1879; agreement between Alexis Bailly and J. B. Faribault, October 6, 1826, Bailly Papers; W. L. Marcy to Roger Jones, December 12, 1845, Mails and Files division, War Department Archives. The Minnesota Historical Society has abstracts only of the letters from the War Department Archives.

92. LAND'S END. A trading post called Land's End was situated about a mile above Fort Snelling on the Minnesota River. In 1831 it was kept by Joseph R. Brown.

Edward D. Neill, "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 125; Lieutenant James L. Thompson's map of the Fort Snelling military reservation, 1839, War Department Archives, reproduced in William W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1: 424 (St. Paul, 1921).

93. LITTLE RAPIDS. Fort Lewis was the name given in 1826 to the fort at the Little Rapids of the St. Peter's River adjoining the southeast quarter of section 31 of Carver Township. This was a trading post of J. B. Faribault.

Licenses to Trade with Indians, 1825 (serial 135-138); Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; agreement between Joseph Rolette and Alexis Bailly concerning the sending of a trader to Little Rapids, February 12, 1828, Bailly Papers; list of licenses, 1830, and list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers; McLeod, "Diary," *ante*, 4: 418; Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 84.

94. MCLEOD'S FORT. On the right bank of the Minnesota River just across from Traverse des Sioux, Martin McLeod erected a trading post in 1840.

McLeod, "Diary," *ante*, 4: 422, 424, 425.

95. TRAVERSE DES SIOUX. Jonathan Carver's house for the winter of 1766-67 may have been in the vicinity of Traverse des Sioux. Some fifty years later Fort Union was established there as a house of the Columbia Fur Company. The American Fur Company also had a post there for many years.

Jonathan Carver Diary, November 20, 1766, April 26, 1767, British Museum; Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; list of licenses, 1830, and list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers; agreement between Bailly and Faribault, October 6, 1826, Bailly Papers; William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, 1: 350-353 (London, 1825); George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Report of a Geological Reconnaissance Made in 1835*, 138, 140 (24 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 333—serial 282); Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map; Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley*, 637 (Minneapolis, 1882); McLeod, "Diary," ante, 4:417; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138).

96. FORT L'HUILLIER. In 1700 Pierre Charles le Sueur established a fort, which he named Fort L'Huillier, near the junction of the Minnesota and Blue Earth rivers. Le Sueur himself left for France in the spring of 1701, but a detachment of men remained at his fort until forced to leave by Indian hostility in 1702.

Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 38-42; Thomas Hughes, "The Site of Le Sueur's Fort L'Huillier," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 283-285; "Le Sueur, the Explorer of the Minnesota River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 268-270; Jacques N. Bellin, *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 124 (Paris, 1755).

97. COTTONWOOD RIVER. As early as 1826 a trading post is recorded at the mouth of the *Rivière aux Liards*, or Cottonwood River. In 1839 Joseph Laframboise was the trader there.

Licenses to Trade with Indians, 1826 (serial 144-146); Laframboise to Sibley, April 1, 9, August 6, 1839, Sibley Papers; map showing "March of Compy B. 1st dragoons from 'Traverse des Sioux' to Lake Traverse," in 1844 under the command of Edwin V. Sumner, War Department Archives.

98. MOOERS' POST. Hazen Mooers, a trader long connected with the American Fur Company who became a free trader in the thirties, had a post on the west bank of the Minnesota opposite Little Rock for several years preceding 1835, when he removed to the latter place.

George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor*, 1: 318, 319 (London, 1847); Featherstonhaugh, *Report*, 147 (serial 28a); John H. Case, "Early Minnesota History."

99. LITTLE ROCK. As early as 1832 there was a post at Little Rock. Joseph Laframboise, a trader of the American Fur Company, was in the charge about 1834. In 1835 Hazen Mooers held the post.

List of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers; Neill, *Minnesota Valley*, 637; map of the Fort Ridgely military reservation, in Jasper W. Johnson, "Fort Ridgely, Minnesota."

100. LOWER SIOUX AGENCY. At least four traders had posts at the Lower Sioux agency near the mouth of the Redwood River in 1862.

Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 110.

101. PATTERSON'S RAPIDS. The post at Patterson's Rapids was probably established by Charles Patterson, who wintered on the Minnesota River at least as early as 1784.

"Defense of Mr. Joseph Ainsé," May 1, 1790, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 11: 608 (1888); Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 538; Featherstonhaugh, *Report*, 148 (serial 28a); Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 458.

102. YELLOW MEDICINE. Rumors of an early post in this vicinity have persisted to the present but no record has been found earlier than the fifties. Explorers of the twenties and thirties make no mention of it.

Tracing of a map depicting Lieutenant J. J. Abercrombie's route in 1858, from the War Department Archives, in Hill Notebooks, 16: 22; map accompanying Pope, *Report* (serial 558); Winchell, *Aborigines*, 583 map.

103. LAC QUI PARLE. In 1816 and 1817 James H. Lockwood wintered at Lac qui Parle. Fort Adams at Lac qui Parle is listed as a Columbia Fur Company post in 1826. In 1835 Joseph Renville's large stockaded fort was located about half a mile from the southeastern extremity of the lake. After Renville's death in 1846 Martin McLeod was the trader till 1851.

James H. Lockwood's answers to inquiries in 25 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 229, p. 44 (serial 349); Stephen R. Riggs to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, May 16,

1839, in that organization's archives, Boston; Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 2: 144 (1903); McLeod, "Diary," *ante*, 4: 434.

104. FORT GREENE. This was a post of the American Fur Company, "on the River Au Gris of the St. Peters below Big Stone Lake" in 1826. The writer has not been able to identify this stream definitely, but it probably was the one that Nicollet calls the "Mankha Re Ozey," and it may be the Yellow Bank River.

Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; map accompanying Nicollet, *Report* (serial 380).

105. BIG STONE LAKE. In 1823 Hazen Mooers' post was located on the west side of this lake. During the years from 1843 to 1846 Martin McLeod had a post on the lake.

Augustin Grignon, "Seventy-two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 3: 238 n. (1857); permit issued to Hazen Mooers, February 24, 1822, in Taliaferro Journals, 2: 93; Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 386; map opposite entry for July 22, 1823, Long Diary; map accompanying Nicollet, *Report* (serial 380); McLeod, "Diary," *ante*, 4: 434; map showing "March of Compy. B 1st dragoons" in 1844 under Sumner, War Department Archives.

106. LAKE TRAVERSE. A trading post was established about 1800 at Lake Traverse by Robert Dickson, an independent trader who later joined the Michilimackinac Company. The remains of this fort were still visible as late as 1886 on lot 4 in section 2 of township 125, range 49 W. In 1823 the Columbia Fur Company had a post known as Fort Washington situated on the east shore toward the southern end of the lake. From 1824 to 1826 Henry Fisher was at Lake Traverse in the employ of the American Fur Company. In 1844 a man named Frenière, probably François, was in charge of the post.

Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 444, 445; Grignon, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 3: 238 n.; Walter Steers to Theodore H. Lewis, July 18, 1886, with sketch showing the location of Dickson's and Frenière's posts, copy in Hill Notebooks, 10: 125; "Supplementary Notebooks," vol. A. p. 7, Hill-Lewis Archeological Survey Papers; Featherstonhaugh, *Report*, 152 (serial 282); map accompanying Pope, *Report* (serial 558).

107. BROWN'S POST. In 1844 a man named Brown, probably the well-known Joseph R. Brown, long affiliated with the American

Fur Company, had a post on the headwaters of the Minnesota River.

Map showing "March of Compy. B 1st dragoons" in 1844 under Sumner, War Department Archives.

108. SHEYENNE RIVER. In 1825 the American Fur Company had a post on the Sheyenne River. Taliaferro locates it "50 miles from its [*the Sheyenne River's*] junction with the Red River."

A circular letter from Taliaferro to the traders of his agency, April 10, 1825, Taliaferro Letter Book A, p. 15; Taliaferro to Bailly, April 2, 1826, Sibley Papers; Victor Renville, "A Sketch of the Minnesota Massacre," in *North Dakota Historical Collections*, 5: 267 (1923).

109. BALD HILL. In the fall of 1842 Joseph R. Brown went as trader for the American Fur Company to Butte Pelée, or Bald Hill, on the upper waters of the Sheyenne River.

Frenière to Sibley, October 11, 1842, Sibley Papers; agreement between Brown and Sibley, October 28, 1842, Sibley Papers.

110. OAKWOOD SETTLEMENT. Nicollet found an old trading house at the "Oakwood Settlement" on the James River in 1839. Traders in this vicinity frequently reached their posts via the Minnesota River.

Nicollet, *Report*, 46 and map (serial 380).

111. LYND'S POST. James W. Lynd had a post in section 5 of Lyons Township, Lyon County, during the period from 1855 to 1857. He later removed farther down the Redwood River to the northeast quarter of section 33 in Lynd Township in the same county.

Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 313; Samuel A. Medary, "Map of the Fort Ridgely & South Pass Road," 1858, accompanying *Report upon the Pacific Wagon Roads* (35 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 36—serial 984).

112. GREAT OASIS. The American Fur Company had a post for many years at the *Grande Lisière*, or Great Oasis. Laframboise was in charge as late as 1834.

Joseph Laframboise to Alexis Bailly, October 26, 1834, Bailly Papers; Nicollet, *Report*, 13 (serial 380); Nicollet Diary, June 27, 1838, Library of Congress.

113. LAKE TALCOTT. A post of the American Fur Company was located near Lake Talcott on the headwaters of the Des Moines River about 1835.

Nicollet, *Report*, 24 and map (serial 380).

114. DES MOINES RIVER. In 1838 Nicollet found a post of the American Fur Company between two lakes that he designated "Tchan Hassan Lakes." These are apparently in Emmet County, Iowa.

Map dated October 4, 1838, Nicollet Papers, Library of Congress.

115. GREY CLOUD ISLAND. Traders had located on Grey Cloud Island by 1836. Joseph R. Brown settled there in 1838. Hazen Mooers and Andrew Robertson put up log huts in 1839. Brown then built another post, and continued his trade on the island, extending it west by means of branch houses.

Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 52, 383; Case, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 373; John R. Case, "Joseph R. Brown's Indian Trading Post," in *Hastings Gazette*, January 1, 1926; Case, "Early Minnesota History."

116. OLIVER'S GROVE. Joseph R. Brown built a trading post at Oliver's Grove, later Hastings, in 1832. The exact location was lot 1, block 12, of the original town site of Hastings, at the southwest corner of Second and Vermillion streets. Taliaferro, the local Indian agent, ordered that the post be abandoned in September, 1834.

Case, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 377, 378; Case, in *Hastings Gazette*, January 1, 1926; Brown to Bailly, February 17, 1834, Bailly Papers; list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers.

117. FORT LE SUEUR. The site of Fort le Sueur was probably Pelée, now Prairie Island. It was built by Pierre Charles le Sueur in 1694.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 252; Bellin, *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 123, 124; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 39.

117a. STURGEON LAKE. In 1885 the remains of a large stockaded fort consisting of some nine buildings were discovered in section 32 of township 114, range 15 W., on the shores of Sturgeon Lake. The size and apparent importance of this post,

which was hitherto unknown, suggest that it was a French establishment. Since the post erected in 1750 on the upper Mississippi by Paul de la Marque, sieur Marin, has never been definitely located, it is at least possible that this was its site.

"Supplementary Note-books," vol. A, p. 36, 37 diagram, Hill-Lewis Survey Papers; Edward D. Neill, *The Last French Post in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, Near Frontenac, Minn.* (St. Paul, 1887); Kellogg, *French Régime*, 379-382.

118-121. CANNON RIVER POSTS. Alexander Faribault, long a prominent factor for the American Fur Company, began trading at the *Bois Plumé*, frequently spelled *Bois Plaine*, on the Cannon River in 1826 or 1827. His posts established in that neighborhood during the next decade were on the sites of Waterville, Morris-town, and Faribault, and on the northwest shore of Cannon Lake.

Licenses to Trade with Indians, 1831 (serial 219); list of licenses, 1830, and list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers; "Faribault, County Seat of Rice County, M. T.," in *Weekly Express and Herald* (Dubuque, Iowa), July 15, 1857; Grace Lee Nute, "Alexander Faribault," *ante*, 8: 178, 179; Stephen Jewett, "After Eighty-four Years."

122. FORT LA POINTE. In 1786 Charles Patterson had a sub-post at the mouth of the Cannon River. It appears as Fort La Pointe on a map by Perrault.

Perrault, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 539, and map.

123. FORT BEAUHARNOIS was built in 1727 on the west side of Lake Pepin, probably on Sandy Point near the site of Frontenac. In 1731 it was removed to higher ground near by. In 1750 another post was built on the upper Mississippi by Paul de la Marque, sieur Marin. Some historians believe that it was close to the site of Fort Beauharnois. The spot apparently was a favorite location with traders; in 1830 there was still a post, probably belonging to the American Fur Company, on "Point des sables."

The French Régime in Wisconsin, 25 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 17—1906); Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 47; Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 308; Francis J. Schaefer, "Fort Beauharnois, near Frontenac, Minn.," in *Acta et Dicta*, 2: 111-113 (July, 1909); Neill, *Last French Post*; Kellogg, *French Régime*, 311, 312, 364 map; list of licenses, 1830, Taliaferro Papers; Folsom, *Fifty Years*, 602.

124. FORT ST. ANTOINE. In 1686 Nicholas Perrot built Fort St. Antoine on the east shore of Lake Pepin. As late as 1700 Penicaut, traveling up the Mississippi with Le Sueur, noted the fort, then almost certainly abandoned. In 1736 Jacques le Gardeur de St. Pierre, dispatched to rebuild Fort Beauharnois, probably did so on the east bank of Lake Pepin, close to the site of Perrot's fort; for Jonathan Carver, only thirty years later, remarked in his diary that the French "till the Late Treaty of Peace" had a post "on the plain East of this Lake [*Pepin*]." In 1855 remains of a fort, known locally as "the old French fort," were found in section 20 of township 23, range 15 W.]

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 232 n., 242 map, 266 map, 335 n., 364 map, and frontispiece reproduction of Franquelin's map of 1688; "Relation of M. Penicaut," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:6; Lyman C. Draper, "Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 10: 369 (1888); Carver Diary, November 2, 1766, British Museum.

125. WABASHA. Augustin Rocque lived for many years in the vicinity of Wabasha, first at a post opposite the mouth of the Chippewa River and later at one on Beef Slough. His father's post, which was established during the American Revolution in an endeavor on the part of the British to win Sioux aid in the contest against the Spaniards at St. Louis, was apparently on the site of Read's Landing. Alexis Bailly traded at Wabasha after leaving Mendota; and another trader, probably Joseph La Bathe, had a post there about 1840. Somewhere in the vicinity was also the *Rivière aux Embarras* post. The stream known by this name is now called the Zumbro, a corruption of the French expression.]

A. P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783," in *Illinois State Historical Society, Journal*, 21: 353 (October, 1928); map accompanying Nicollet, *Report* (serial 380); map accompanying Albert M. Lea, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* (Philadelphia, 1836); Featherstonhaugh, *Report*, 130 (serial 282); Henry H. Sibley, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3: 245 (1870-1880); diagram of Bailly's fort, Bailly Papers; A. Grandjean, *La mission romande; ses racines dans le sol suisse romand; son épanouissement dans la race thonga*, 24 map (Lausanne, 1917); Winchell, *Aborigines*, 141; list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers; Joseph Rolette's application for a license, September 10,

1830, William Clark Papers, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; "Supplementary Note-books," vol. A, p. 34, Hill-Lewis Survey Papers.

126. WINONA. A trader of the American Fur Company named François La Bathe had a post near the site of Winona in 1835.

Map accompanying Lea, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory*; Grandjean, *La mission romande*, 24 map; Paul P. Thompson, "Muskrat Pelts Used in Place of Money in First Business Here," in *Winona Republican-Herald*, February 22, 1930.

127. TREMPEALEAU. In 1685 Nicholas Perrot wintered at the base of Mount Trempealeau. René Godefroy de Linctot built a fort there in 1731. In later years the American Fur Company also had a post on this site.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 232, 266 map, 328, 329, 364 map; "Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1915, p. 111-123; Draper, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 10: 366; *Licenses to Trade with Indians*, 1825 (serial 135-138); Taliaferro to Bailly, June 1, 1827, Sibley Papers; list of trading posts, 1832, Taliaferro Papers.

128. PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. One of Nicholas Perrot's forts, Fort St. Nicholas, was built about 1686 at the mouth of the Wisconsin River. During the remainder of the fur-trade period many traders made this place their headquarters. The American Fur Company had a large dépôt there which was in charge of Hercules L. Dousman after the middle twenties.

Bellin, *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 123; Kellogg, *French Régime*, 232, 241, 329; Lyman C. Draper, "Traditions and Recollections of Prairie du Chien," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 282-302.

129. FORT MARIN was built by Paul de la Marque, sieur Marin, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin River about 1739.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 339, 364 map; Draper, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9: 286.

130. YELLOW LAKE POST was an American Fur Company fort in the thirties of the nineteenth century. For a number of years it was in charge of Dr. Charles W. W. Borup.

William T. Boutwell, "Relations with the Chippewa Indians," folio 2, Boutwell Papers; Judson, *Map of the Entire Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa*.

131. FORT ST. CROIX was probably built by Du Luth in 1683 as a supply post, the earliest fort in interior Wisconsin. It was situated at the portage of the canoe route from Lake Superior to the Mississippi via St. Croix River.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 225, 266 map, and frontispiece reproduction of Franquelin's map of 1688; Bellin, *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 124.

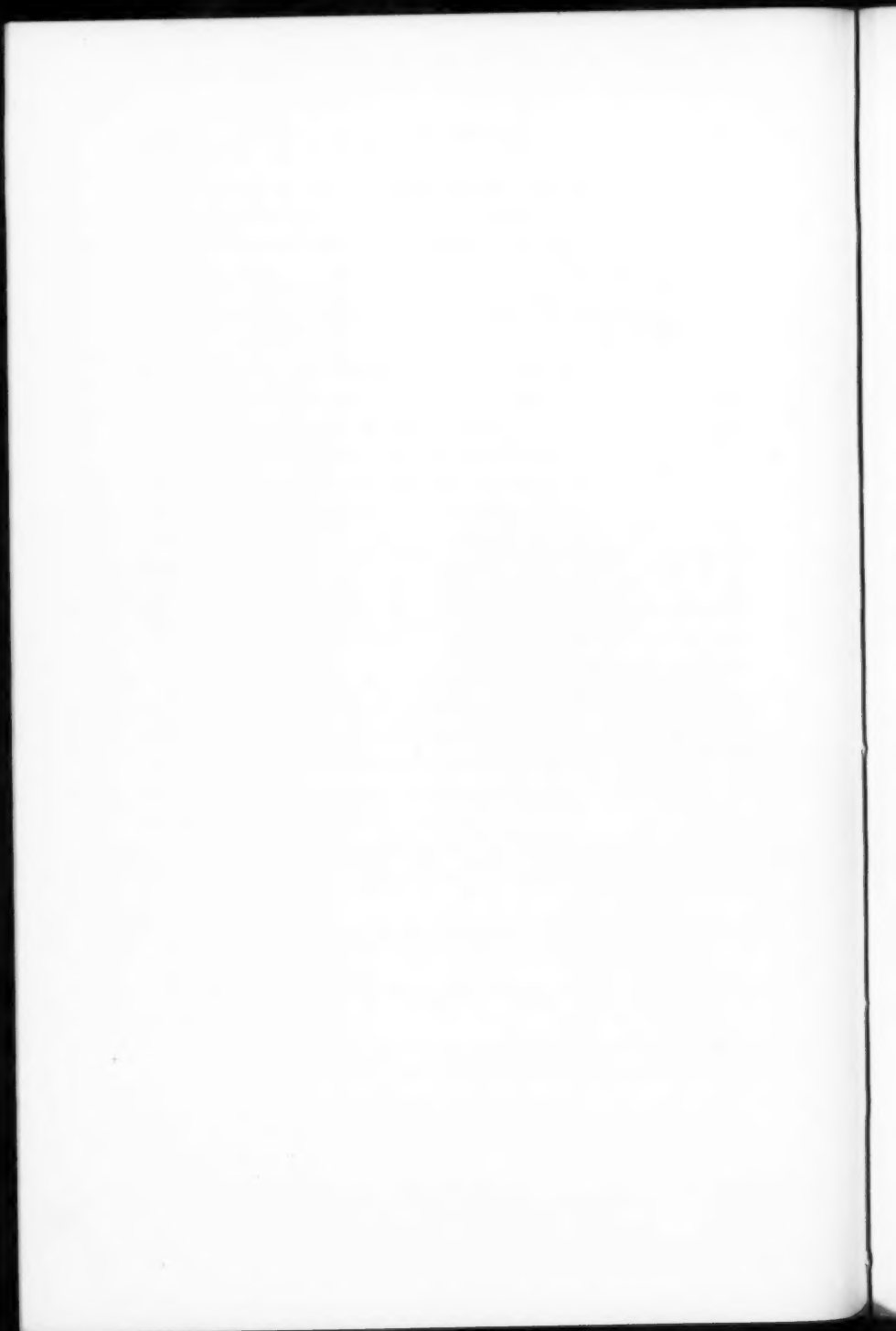
132. LA POINTE was a famous fur-trading center from the time of the earliest French exploration. Radisson and Groseilliers spent the winter of 1660-61 near by on the mainland. Le Sueur built a post on the southwestern shore of Madeline Island in 1693, but it was abandoned in 1698. In 1718 the region was reoccupied and Fort La Pointe was erected. After the British conquest John Johnston spent some years there and the Cadotte family had a post, known as "Old Fort," about five hundred feet east of the site of the French post. Still later the American Fur Company had a post there, and in 1834 it established its inland headquarters on Madeline Island, erecting extensive warehouses and other buildings.

Kellogg, *French Régime*, 109, 110, 252, 266 map, 298-301; John Johnston, "An Account of Lake Superior, 1792-1807," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2: 133-174; Reuben G. Thwaites, "The Story of Chequamegon Bay," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 13: 397-425.

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ST. PAUL



ROADS AND TRAILS IN THE MINNESOTA TRIANGLE, 1849-60¹

Within ten years after Minnesota Territory was organized, it serenely approached maturity and took its place among the United States. These were stirring years, filled with vigorous planning and building, with big enterprises and ideas. A region with a population of less than five thousand in 1849 boasted nearly a hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants in 1860. Most of this phenomenal growth took place after 1854. A country which in 1850 appealed chiefly to adventurers, became within four years' time the Mecca toward which thousands of home-seekers turned their faces. A whole wilderness was conquered as the bridge of civilization spanned the mighty Mississippi.

In the story of the early settlement of Minnesota, the steamboat and the humble wagon road play major rôles. The river steamboats carried throngs of settlers into the territory, built up the river towns, and thus laid the foundation for the settlement of the interior country. The wagon roads, poor and flimsy trails, became teeming thoroughfares bearing great caravans of immigrants and creaking freight wagons into the back country. The first center of population in Minnesota was around the mouth of the Minnesota River, where traders in the upper Mississippi Valley had long maintained their posts. Here were St. Paul, St. Anthony, Fort Snelling, and old Mendota, with Stillwater near by, all well-established and flourishing communities. To the south of these settlements was a dense wilderness comprised within a triangle of land bounded by Iowa on the south, the Mississippi on the north

¹ A revision of a paper read before the Owatonna session of the state historical convention of 1930 on June 13. *Ed.*

and east, and the Minnesota and Blue Earth rivers on the north and west. Since immigrants arriving in Minnesota came first to this Triangle, it naturally was settled early in the territorial period. There was scarcely a trace of human habitation in the interior of the Triangle at the beginning of the fifties. Seminomadic Indians roamed over the region. At the junction of the Straight and Cannon rivers, in what became Rice County, a trader named Alexander Faribault had established a trading post in 1826, and there were temporary posts in other parts of the interior; but with these exceptions the wilderness was unbroken. The only semblance of a road in the whole region was the rough trading trail worn by the carts of the trader Faribault as they hauled his cargoes of furs and the goods used in his traffic with the Indians.

One overland route led from St. Paul to the civilized world in 1849. This road, opened in 1848, crossed into Wisconsin at Stillwater and extended to Galena, Illinois. A stage and mail line was established over it, but because of the roundabout route, the lack of sufficient bridges, and the frequently impassable condition of the road the service was not satisfactory.² Agitation for changes and demands for new roads therefore began. One of the first evidences of this desire for improved land communication was the spirit of violent criticism which grew up in 1849 of existing mail facilities. The writer of an editorial in a St. Paul newspaper inquired: "Would anyone believe that in the 19th century our government would limit Minnesota, situated here in the very heart of the Republic, to one mail a week?" He did not deem tri-weekly mails unreasonable, and declared that they "ought to be conveyed between Galena and St. Paul in two days each trip." He expressed the hope that there soon would be a "change for the better." In the fall of 1849 the Minnesota legislature

² Luella Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days in Minnesota," 3. This is a term paper prepared in 1927 for a course in Minnesota history at Hamline University, St. Paul. The Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

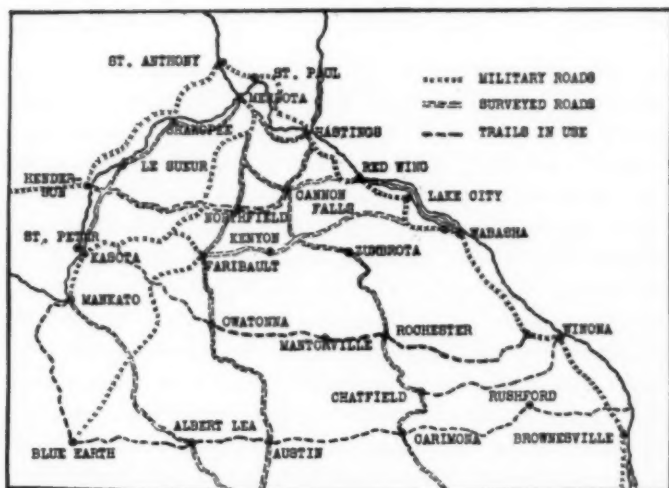
successfully appealed to Congress for the construction of a military post road to the Iowa line via Mendota and Wabasha. Surveys for this road were made in 1850, and early in 1852 it was opened from Hastings to Wabasha — the first surveyed road in Minnesota. In March of that year, the legislature sent a memorial to Congress — which was granted the following September — requesting the establishment of a regular mail route from St. Paul via the Wabasha road to Lansing, Iowa.³

By 1850 prospective settlers were calling for roads by which they could reach the rich interior of Minnesota. The territorial government itself had no funds with which to build such roads, nor was it to be expected that Congress would authorize their construction unless some reason could be found to justify their establishment. This justification was found in the fact that during the early territorial years the Chippewa of northern Minnesota were almost constantly at war with the Sioux of the south and west, and the whites themselves were not altogether free from the depredations of these warring red men. So, ostensibly as a means of Indian defense, Congress was asked to provide a system of roads penetrating the back country. Although the consent of that body had been readily obtained for the construction of a military post road from St. Paul to the more settled regions, the scheme of laying out roads to the interior met with serious objections. There ensued in Congress in the spring of 1852 a contest in which the lines of sectionalism became clearly marked; an old story was reenacted — that of the frontier struggling for internal improvements at the expense of the federal government and the settled area opposing such expenditure because but a small number of people would profit thereby. During the discussion occasioned by a memorial asking for the appropriation of

³ *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), August 2, 1849; September 9, 1852; *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), March 24, 1852; *Minnesota, House Journal*, 1849, p. 148; 1852, p. 90.

five thousand dollars for surveying the Mendota-Big Sioux road, Representative George S. Houston of Alabama rose to brand this type of road construction as "internal improvement by the government in its most odious form." The federal government had already expended enormous sums in clearing the land of the Indian title, and the frontier was not entitled to more. The position of the West was stated by Henry H. Sibley, territorial delegate from Minnesota, when he said, "The government being the sole great land proprietor is bound, by every consideration of equity and justice, to make its domain accessible to the settler, by means of roads. . . . How, sir, can your lands be sold if the immigrant cannot reach them?" A question was raised as to the military necessity of this road, and the conservative element took the position that if it were constructed to provide a means of entry to the land, and not for military defense, there was no difference between federal road construction in Minnesota and such construction in Kentucky, Indiana, or Illinois. Sibley's argument that Minnesota was "inhabited by the largest and most warlike tribes on the North American continent" was refuted by a statement from the officer who would be in charge of surveying the Mendota-Big Sioux road, in which he declared that his party would be its own escort, "as the Indians were not troublesome in that region." Sibley maintained that this road was necessary, for it would enable troops to march directly to the Indian fastnesses in case of an outbreak. A further objection to the plan was the expense it entailed — the previous Congress had appropriated five thousand dollars for a preliminary survey, to complete the survey would cost at least five thousand dollars more, and the total cost of this road leading into the wilderness would be about two hundred thousand dollars. The eloquence of Sibley and the championship of the western states won government-constructed roads for Minnesota.⁴ These were built under the supervision of

⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 32 Congress, 1 session, p. 1451-1455.



ROADS IN THE MINNESOTA TRIANGLE, 1854



ROADS IN THE MINNESOTA TRIANGLE, 1860

the war department, and, although not intended purely for military purposes, were commonly called "military" roads. Four of these were built in the Triangle region. The first was the post road along the west bank of the Mississippi river. The second, the Mendota-Big Sioux or Dodd road, was authorized in the late spring of 1852, surveyed in 1853, and opened over the first sixty-five miles of its route in 1855. It cut through the Big Woods in the northwestern part of the Triangle country from Mendota, through Lakeville, to the upper crossing of the Cannon River, thence westward to St. Peter, up the Minnesota to Mankato, and then southwest to the Big Sioux River. In 1853 the third route was opened — the St. Anthony-Fort Ridgely road — following the west bank of the Minnesota River from St. Paul to Henderson and extending westward toward Fort Ridgely. In 1854 the Spirit Lake road, extending from Faribault toward Spirit Lake, Iowa, was laid out.⁵

The rapid growth of settlement along the banks of the two great rivers in the territory brought a flood of demands for roads. The settlers along the Minnesota River yearned for a more direct route out of the territory and a more expeditious mail service than that afforded by the river. The towns along the Mississippi saw the profit to be derived from the trade and travel of the West. On March 1, 1852, Governor Ramsey approved a bill for laying out a road from the "foot of Lake Pepin to some point on the Minnesota River between Flint Prairie and the mouth of the Blue Earth River." This road, however, was not to be built unless the Sioux treaties of 1851 were confirmed by the Senate, then in session.⁶ The con-

⁵ *House Journal*, 1849, p. 98; 1853, p. 115; manuscript map of "Military Roads in Minnesota, 1849-1859." The latter item is in the War Department Archives; a photostatic copy is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. A writer in the *Shakopee Independent* of February 20, 1856, records that the Mendota-Big Sioux or Dodd road "affords a well travelled thoroughfare, easy of access to market."

⁶ *Minnesota, Laws*, 1852, p. 57.

struction of this road established a basis for the rivalry that played an important part in the later growth of the river towns. It brought Read's Landing and Wabasha into direct contact with the Minnesota Valley. The inhabitants of Rollingstone and Winona determined to secure their own road, and in July, 1852, three settlers from the former place laid out a route connecting Winona and Mankato. This route left the military road to Winona a short distance above that place at Rollingstone and extended westward, passing near or through the sites of the present cities of Rochester and Owatonna and then turning toward the northwest until it made connections with the Dodd road just east of St. Peter. On March 1, 1854, the territorial legislature authorized the construction of a road from Red Wing to Fort Ridgely on the "most direct and feasible route," the cost to be borne by the counties through which the road passed, providing it did not exceed a hundred dollars per county.⁷ Thus the first westward routes of travel in the Triangle were established.

North and south routes soon became necessary as well as those running east and west. The government road along the banks of the Mississippi did not offer a direct route from Iowa into the Triangle region nor to St. Paul. Agitation, not restricted to Minnesota alone, began for the opening of a road to St. Paul through the central part of this country. In March, 1852, Captain John Wakefield wrote from Allamakee County, Iowa, to James M. Goodhue, the editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer* of St. Paul, advising that a central route be chosen and urging rapid action. In July, 1852, Timothy Davis of Decorah, Iowa, wrote to the same editor, suggesting that a meeting be held in September or October at Decorah to work out the problem of a stage road from Dubuque to the mouth of the Minnesota River. A writer for the *Minnesota Democrat* of St. Paul, commenting on the accessibility of the Triangle by a central route, said: "Take

⁷ *Pioneer*, July 28, 1852; *Laws*, 1854, p. 46.

Notice.—Farmers may come with their stock from any of the eastern states to the heart of the best part of Minnesota, where the whole country is open for settlement. The best route is from Dubuque north to the Iowa line, and thence into the Blue Earth and Cannon Valleys." In September, 1852, the same paper called attention to the good road "travelled for the last half century by traders" between Mendota and Alexander Faribault's trading post, and remarked that this could be extended the remainder of the way to the Iowa line with small expense.⁸

Requests for a north and south road appeared throughout 1853. In January, 1854, one writer expressed the need for it as follows:

Let there be a road staked out up this stream [*the Straight or Owatonna River*] and through to Fort Atkinson, or some point easy of access from Dubuque or Galena, and those emigrants who would be deterred from entering Minnesota with their stock and farming utensils by steamboat, would rapidly fill up . . . that best part of our territory, stretching across southern Minnesota east to the Mississippi.

The best interests of our territory require that we should have at once a good waggon road from St. Paul to some point in Iowa, leading to the Mississippi; and if the route I have pointed out is not the best, let someone point out a better, at all events let us if possible have the road.⁹

The house of representatives in 1853 passed a bill authorizing the construction of a road from the falls of the Vermillion River at Hastings in Dakota County, through the sites of the present towns of Cannon Falls, Zumbrota, Rochester, Chatfield, Carimona, and thence to the Iowa line.¹⁰

⁸ *Pioneer*, March 4, July 22, 1852; *Democrat*, August 4, September 22, 1852.

⁹ *Pioneer*, January 5, 1854.

¹⁰ This bill was not passed by the territorial council and signed by the governor until 1855. The road, however, was put in use early in 1854. *House Journal*, 1853, p. 193; *Laws*, 1855, p. 142; W. H. Mitchell, *History of the County of Olmsted*, 110 (Rochester, n. d.).

The Minnesota road situation in 1854 is reflected in an editorial entitled "New Roads" in the *Pioneer* for March 14 of the following year:

Nothing tends more directly to the settlement and improvement of a new country than good roads. The want of them the past summer, from prominent points on the Mississippi to the interior of the Territory, was a matter of much complaint on the part of immigrants.

If the roads authorized to be laid out by the legislature at its last session, shall be constructed at an early day, those coming to our territory the approaching season will find the facilities for penetrating to rich farming lands in the interior, very much improved. A good road has been opened from the Iowa line to this city, traversing that part of the territory north and south. From Red Wing on the Mississippi, a road is about to be opened to Henderson on the Minnesota. From Winona on the Mississippi, another road is contemplated, running in a northwesterly direction, to the same point on the Minnesota, passing by Faribault on the Cannon River. These roads will prove of great service to the immigrant, while they will render accessible the valuable agricultural lands on the Root, Driftwood and Cannon river.

When the trails were opened up, throngs of immigrants flowed into the land. In the spring of 1854, a road was laid out following the old traders' trail to Faribault's post and the Straight and Cedar rivers to the Iowa line. In June of that year, Dr. William W. Finch, one of the commissioners appointed to survey the road, reported heavy traffic over the route before it was surveyed. At one time he saw a train of "30 immigrant wagons, filled with Norwegians and 150 head of cattle, following on their way to Traverse, Mankato and other towns on the river. . . . Two hundred wagons have been seen on the road at one time,—many of which came from Wisconsin. . . . The greater number of emigrants who come into our territory is by the overland route."¹¹ The story is the same for all the Triangle during 1854. Wherever there were roads, settlers came pouring in, choking through

¹¹ *Laws*, 1854, p. 64; *Daily Times* (St. Paul), June 30, July 6, 1854.

clouds of dust during the dry weather, wallowing and struggling through mud and mire when it rained, clogging the ferries, and filling the frontier inns to overflowing. Towns sprang into existence where but a few months before there had been virgin wilderness. The forests melted away and houses showed through the tangled undergrowth wherever a wearied idealist had found his Eden. The Triangle flourished when access to its riches was secured.

During the years from 1849 to 1854 a foundation for a road system was laid, and in the years that followed the structure was completed, providing the means by which the greater part of the white population in the Triangle got to the land. Feeder roads without number were constructed — short, rough trails, along township lines, through hitherto trackless forests and over rolling prairies, bringing in the farmers who made this the most populous region in Minnesota. In 1855 the legislature authorized the construction of nineteen roads in the Triangle region and in 1856 more than twice that number. Numerous trails, marked only by the imprint of wagon wheels that had gone before, led into the interior. Freeborn County, at the south of the Triangle, had one surveyed road in 1857. Yet trails made by the wagons of incoming settlers who could not wait for surveyed roads to be opened extended to all parts of the county.¹² Other counties reported similar developments. The legislature often authorized the survey and construction of roads after they had been in use for months or even a year or two.¹³

¹² *Laws*, 1855, p. 49-53; and numerous references, indexed under "Territorial Roads," in the volume for 1856. "There are good roads centering here from all directions, though strange to say, with one exception no roads have ever been surveyed within the county limits," runs an article in the *Southern Minnesota Star* of Albert Lea for July 9, 1857. The issue also contains a map showing trails in Freeborn County.

¹³ The legislature of 1855 authorized the construction of a road from Winona to Carimona, but the road had been used in the fall of 1854. Similarly, the legislature in 1856 authorized the construction of a road

Because communication was so inadequate the people directed their energies toward the construction of railroads. The years 1857 and 1858 saw the bitter fight over the famous "Five Million Loan" measure, by which the credit of the state to the amount of five million dollars was extended to aid in the construction of railroads. In southeastern Minnesota as early as 1855 plans had been made for the construction of a road, to be called the Transit Railroad, which was to extend from Winona to Mankato or St. Peter. Railroad agitation grew to such proportions that it quite overshadowed other problems of the day. Roads, while desirable, were not deemed as necessary as railroads. In places it was quite definitely assumed that road facilities were ample for the time. Houston County reported "5400 miles of road, and from the knowledge our readers have respecting the situation of these roads, no one will claim we are not pretty well supplied with them." It was the mania for railroads at the expense of the more humble wagon road that prompted the editor of the *St. Peter Courier* to write: "In our eagerness for Railroads we are forgetting those common avenues through which in reality are flowing our wealth. . . . This road business is a matter of concern to us, and the best time to attend to it is now."¹⁴

The settlement of the Triangle was vitally tied up with the development of a system of transportation and communication operating independently of the steamboat. The early attempts at railroad construction were abortive, and they blasted the reputation of the railroad companies for some time. Communication was necessary, however, and the counties of the interior were hindered in their growth until some system of roads should be developed. Indeed, it was the laying out of such a system that made possible the growth of Rochester from Rochester via Marion, Chatfield, and Richland Prairie to the Iowa line over the same route as was authorized in 1854. *Laws*, 1855, p. 49-53; 1856, p. 140.

¹⁴ *St. Peter Courier*, June 26, 1857; *Hokah Chief*, September 25, 1858.

in Olmsted County, which was platted on July 25, 1854, and made a stagecoach station the same day. Similarly, Zumbrota in Goodhue County, established as a colony by an association of eastern men in 1856, grew and endured because a reliable route of communication with the territorial capital and with the rest of the United States ran through its main and, one suspects, only street. Countless similar instances can be quoted. Carimona — lonely, isolated village in the interior of Fillmore County — became an important port of call for all stage lines on the eastern interior route from St. Paul to the Iowa line. It boasted a sumptuous hotel, and was the terminus of a stage line running from Winona via Chatfield.¹⁵ The village flourished until the coming of the railroad to Minnesota, when the decline of stagecoaching left it isolated and led to decay. Its heyday was the day of the stagecoach and the freight caravan.

In no case in the development of the interior did a community grow that did not possess good road communication. In the fifties an outstanding criterion for the selection of a town site seems to have been the presence of a good wagon road connecting it with other parts of the country. In July, 1853, a writer, urging the eligibility of Faribault in Rice County as the seat of settlement for a colony of New Englanders, referred to the location as being of primary importance because "the government military road, running from the foot of Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi, to the great bend of the Minnesota at the mouth of the Blue Earth, which is being opened this year, passes through our settlement. The great winter mail and stage route from St. Paul to Dubuque, Iowa, must pass through this section. . . . From necessity there must build up a large inland town." A little later an observer recorded of Rochester: "The great Dubuque and St. Paul road passes through here, where it is intersected by the

¹⁵ A. T. Andreas, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*, 239 (Chicago, 1874); *St. Paul Advertiser*, March 7, 1857.

principal thoroughfare from Winona westward. . . . In summer, Rochester is a sort of grand encampment for the meeting streams of emigration upon both these roads. We counted one hundred emigrant wagons last summer . . . on the outskirts of town, their occupants huddled in groups around a dozen or more fires." An earlier writer looked upon the site of Marion — now dead, but filled with wistful memories of the dreams of greatness held by its founders — and said: "We are on the direct road from Winona to Rochester, about forty miles from Winona, and eight from Rochester . . . eleven from Chatfield, and but one half a mile from the main stage road from Dubuque to St. Paul."¹⁶ The importance of road communication was not lost on those early settlers. Where they built in such a way that the railroads found it to their advantage to come through the towns, the settlements have prospered to this day. Where obstacles forced the railroads to neglect them, they suffered and died. The road gave them their initial impetus, the railroad assured their progress.

The problem of mail communication was a strong factor in securing new and improved roads. In 1849 three branch mail lines and the route from the settled states to Minnesota, only a small part of which lay within its boundaries, served the territory. The spread of the system of mail communication was a slow process. In 1854 twenty-one new land mail routes were created. Seven of these fed the Triangle region, following the lines of roads that had been established previously. Although authorized during this year, they were not all put into operation at once. For example, the first delivery on the overland route from the Mississippi River at Minnesota City to Traverse des Sioux was not made until November, 1855, when the road from Winona to St. Peter was opened.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Minnesotian* (St. Paul), July 30, 1853; *St. Paul Advertiser*, March 14, 1857; *Winona Republican*, December 11, 1855.

¹⁷ *St. Peter Courier*, November 6, 1855; Wilhelm F. Hempel, "Postal Service in Minnesota to 1858," 17. A copy of the latter item, a term paper

The inadequate mail service of the early fifties brought forth numerous complaints, and mass meetings were held, memorials were sent to Congress, and wordy protests were published in the newspapers in efforts to secure remedies for the situation.¹⁸ At Winona the editor of the *Argus*, in the issue for September 25, 1855, complained bitterly that during the previous week there had been but one mail from St. Paul, although the government contract called for daily service. "Where is the fault?" he writes. "It is vexatious to be thus snubbed, especially when we know that we are entitled to a better treatment." At Faribault the first regular mail service was granted in 1854, although settlement had made an active beginning in 1851. This service was supplemented in the fall of 1855 by the cross-country mail from Winona to Mankato. On July 9, 1857, the editor of the *Southern Minnesota Star* of Albert Lea exulted over the arrival of the "first regular U. S. mail that has ever come to this town at the expense of the Department," and he boasted of "regular mails from Mankato, Mitchell [Iowa], Red Wing." In 1858 the postmaster-general announced a hundred and twenty-six routes in Minnesota, of which fifty-five provided service wholly or in part for the Triangle region.¹⁹

Mail-service facilities developed greatly during the territorial period. In 1849 there were only four land mail routes in Minnesota. By 1854 these had been increased to twenty-five and by 1856, to forty-nine. From 1856 to 1858 the number more than doubled. The Triangle comprised about a fourth of the settled area of Minnesota in 1860 and received almost half of the mail service provided for the entire state. Inasmuch as almost two-thirds of the entire population lived in the

prepared for a course in Minnesota history at Macalester College, St. Paul, in 1927, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁸ *Minnesota Democrat*, March 24, 1852; *St. Peter Courier*, March 11, 1856; Hempel, "Postal Service," 2, 16, 17.

¹⁹ *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), February 23, 1858.

Triangle, however, the region did not receive the service to which it was entitled. The increase in mail facilities, although great, was still far behind the growth of settlement, and the people were still handicapped in their efforts to conquer the wilderness. Mail routes were very essential bonds of civilization—connecting links that helped to bind together the isolated posts of the frontier. They promoted intercourse and maintained the community of interest. To traverse the country with such a network, trails were necessary. The spread of the system of roads is measured by the spread of the mail routes in the territory. The struggle of the people to secure adequate mail service was identical with their struggle to secure adequate roads.

Based on absolute need, the stagecoach, about which such a halo of romance has gathered, came to occupy a position of real importance in Minnesota. In later years the railroad took the place of the stage as a means of transportation, but during the fifties and far into the sixties stagecoaches rumbled across the prairies of Minnesota, the principal means of communication for an entire people. Hence, they were vital factors in the securing of new roads. They were operating in Minnesota early in 1849, when a regular stage line was running between St. Paul and St. Anthony. Shortly after its establishment, a stage was run from St. Paul, via the Wisconsin route, to Dubuque, where it connected with the mail stage lines from the East.²⁰ The fact that satisfactory mail and passenger service over this route was impossible was of primary importance in the opening of the first road on the west side of the Mississippi River. In the program of propaganda spread to secure the completion of the latter road, the lure of the stagecoach was very evident. In the issue of April 22, 1852, the editor of the *Pioneer*, advocating the completion of the "west" road, wrote: "On the west side,

²⁰ Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days," 3.

there are no hills, no rivers but Cannon river to bridge, no streams that would be a hindrance — nothing to prevent a good road, and everything to encourage a settlement all the way; and if this road were opened, there would soon be towns . . . daily stages, and Minnesota would never be caught again on the 16th of April, isolated." The need for the road was great, and it would be built if necessary "by subscription, or the labor of our own hands." The people of Iowa were vitally interested in it, for they had constructed one north to the Minnesota line, and were anxious to secure the continuation of this route to St. Paul. In July, 1852, a correspondent of a St. Paul paper wrote: "There must be something suggested to start the ball. The route will be I presume a four horse post coach one."²¹

In January, 1853, a stage line from St. Paul to Mankato was established, marking the beginning of this means of transportation in the Triangle. In 1854 the line from St. Paul to Dubuque by way of Cannon Falls, Rochester, and Carimona became an actuality. In 1855 stage lines were established between Winona and St. Peter and Winona and Chatfield. In 1856 lines were opened between St. Paul and Dubuque on the Straight and Cedar River route, between Red Wing and St. Peter, and between Hastings and the Minnesota Valley at St. Peter. A writer for the *St. Peter Courier* of January 7, 1857, gleefully recorded the growth of the lines of communication between the Minnesota River Valley and the Mississippi River towns. St. Peter, he declared, was fast securing connections with all the Mississippi River towns, lacking only a line between St. Peter and Wabasha. In 1857 stage lines were extended from La Crescent, opposite La Crosse, to Mankato; from Red Wing to Albert Lea; from Mankato to Mitchell, Iowa; and from La Crosse, by way of La Crescent, to Chatfield. In 1858 the network was further extended by the establishment of lines from Lake City to Rochester,

²¹ *Pioneer*, July 1, 22, August 26, 1852.

Owatonna, and Mankato; and from Brownsville westward toward Blue Earth; and of several short lines which were outgrowths of the larger systems.²² By 1860 the region was criss-crossed with lines running in all directions and the stagecoach had become a fundamental part of the everyday life of the communities.

The value of the stagecoach as an institution was enhanced as time went on by its combination with the mail service. As mail routes were designated, they followed the lines of the major roads, which were the routes of the stagecoach lines. The stagecoach companies, therefore, took over the delivery of the mails as a profitable side line. This combination of industries occurred first on the stage line extending from St. Paul to Galena in the fall of 1850, when M. P. Ormsby advertised the "United States

U. S. MAIL STAGES.



Spring and Summer Arrangement!

WILLOUGHBY & POWERS will continue their semi-weekly trips between St. Paul and Prairie du Chien until the opening of navigation, immediately after which they will commence running.

DAILY LINES

of Four-Horse Coaches between

St. Paul and St. Anthony, and St. Paul and Stillwater.

They have recently purchased at the East several new and elegant

CONCORD COACHES,

which will be here to take their place in these lines immediately after the opening of navigation.

The public may rest assured that the proprietors have none but the best of teams, accompanied by careful drivers; and that they will devote their utmost energies to insure comfort and safety on all occasions.



At An extensive Livery Stable at the corner of Fourth and Roberts streets. Particular attention given to the accommodation of Pleasure Parties, upon liberal terms.
27-12 **WILLOUGHBY & POWERS.**

A STAGECOACH ADVERTISEMENT

[From the *Weekly Minnesotan* (St. Paul),
March 19, 1853.]

²² *Pioneer*, January 6, 1853; November 6, 1854; *Democrat*, March 14, 1855; *St. Peter Courier*, November 6, 1855; *Winona Express*, September 18, 1855; *Southern Minnesota Star*, July 9, 1857; *Chatfield Republican*, January 31, 1857; *Rochester Democrat*, May 20, 1858; *Rochester Free Press*, May 12, 1858.

Mail Stage Line to Minnesota." In 1852 the firm of Willoughby and Powers advertised the "United States Mail Stage" to Prairie du Chien.²³ Throughout the territory, the stage lines adopted the secondary industry. In general, the reasons for this are easy to understand. Both the stage lines and the mail service were required to adhere to strict schedules. In designating carriers for the various routes, sealed bids were called for, and the contract was given to the lowest bidder. The stage line had the burden of a fixed overhead expense, which was lightened by the compensation for carrying the mail. It could, therefore, give this service at a lower figure than a private contractor.

The mail-stage combination produced an efficient and, one might almost say, altruistic service to the public. There were times when the stages failed to keep to their schedules, to be sure, and there were times when the mails were not delivered on the appointed day. There were even occasions when mail was lost as the result of some mishap on the road. The proprietors and drivers usually acted in good faith, however, and the blame for such accidents was rarely traceable to them. There were many times when thought of personal gain seemed to give way before a desire to serve the public. Thus, the editor of the *Pioneer*, in the issue for August 2, 1849, made the statement that the proprietor of the stage line operating between St. Paul and Stillwater furnished free mail service for the people of these places. Again, in 1858, M. O. Walker, who had become the most prominent mail-stage operator in the state, was subjected to criticism for service given on his line in the Minnesota Valley. A writer for a local paper in defense of Walker stated that his lines, although they received pay for only a tri-weekly mail service, had for a year been furnishing a daily delivery without extra charge. The defense continues: "Our country is new, and our roads

²³ *Minnesota Democrat*, December 31, 1850; November 17, 1852.

rough and bad. Neither horseflesh nor ash and maple wagons can stand everything. We are pretty well off now in our mail facilities. The best policy is to let well enough alone. We may get let down to a tri-weekly mail which would not be so pleasant." ²⁴

The competition of stagecoach companies produced distinctly beneficial results for the people. Early in the territorial period the proprietors of two stage companies operating between St. Anthony and St. Paul clashed over the trade between these two cities. Fares sank to almost nothing and the conflict was bitterly waged. The end of this first stagecoach war brought with it a stabilizing of rates, improved service, and better roads between St. Anthony and St. Paul. In 1852 two companies were operating on the route to Galena. To secure the good will of the public, one of them, the firm of Willoughby and Powers, announced that it had thoroughly repaired the road and that it was providing excellent accommodations for passengers and "Good and comfortable STAGES on the entire route." ²⁵ Here again, competition operated to secure improved roads and traveling conditions.

In the spring of 1858 the energetic proprietors of the town site of Lake City began an earnest campaign for the trade of the interior country, of which Rochester was the center, by opening a new road from Lake City to Rochester. An intensive advertising campaign was carried on in the Rochester papers, and in June, 1858, the firm of Burbank and Company, which operated the lines of the Northwestern Passenger and Express Company, was subsidized to the extent of five hundred dollars to establish a regular line of stagecoaches from Rochester to Lake City. A stage line had been in operation between Winona and Rochester since early in 1855. Winona had come to regard Rochester as its tributary territory. No particular

²⁴ *St. Peter Courier*, January 1, 1858.

²⁵ Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days," 6-8; *Minnesota Democrat*, September 9, December 8, 1852.

efforts were made to please the citizens of that region because Winona had been the only logical place in which they could trade. The firm of Burbank and Company initiated a fare of two dollars on its stages to Lake City—twenty-five cents lower than the fare charged by the Walker line between Winona and Rochester—and trade started to flow the other way. The Walker line, of course, had to meet this price, and thus the war began. Daily stages were put on the road to Lake City by Burbank and Company. Walker retaliated by placing daily stages on both the Winona and Lake City roads. Fares to Lake City dropped to twenty-five cents each way, and the public gleefully reaped the benefit. One observer recorded that the fares were “just what you’ve a mind to give, and in a little while, as the rivalry increases, the question to passengers will be ‘at what price will you ride with us?’” With the end of the conflict the charges for freight and express transportation as well as those for stage fares were stabilized, and the rates were appreciably lower than they had been before there was competition on the route. More important, however, was the immediate improvement in roads. The citizens of Winona, spurred on by the efforts of the Walker agent, raised over four hundred dollars for the improvement of the road to Rochester. In addition, a new road had been opened from Rochester to the Mississippi.²⁸

Echoes of the strife were heard from other parts of the Triangle region. In Chatfield the people watched the conflict with great interest. They, too, had felt Winona’s neglect of their interests and the inconvenience occasioned by the Walker line’s poor service. Their complaints were as real as those at Rochester, and the application was made to the local situation. “Winona will get her eyes open, after a while, to her true interest. . . . Rochester has already, it seems, found a better

²⁸ *Rochester Democrat*, May 20 to July 1, 1858; *Rochester Free Press*, May 12 to June 2, 1858.

way to the river via Lake City; and Chatfield will, ere long, do the same, at Homer, or La Crosse."²⁷

The stagecoaches were responsible for the construction of many roads and the improvement of many more. In some instances, the companies suggested to the local governments along their routes that better service would be possible if there were better roads, whereupon the taxpayers undertook to repair them. In other cases the companies did the work of repairing the roads. Such was the case of the Burbank line, which in 1858 secured the contract for carrying the mails from La Crosse to St. Paul. To insure the three and a half day driving schedule required by the contract, the firm undertook to improve the existing roads. That fall the sum of three thousand dollars was expended for repairs and the construction of bridges on the road from Wabasha to Winona. For this service, no compensation was asked beyond the patronage of the people.²⁸

On through the fifties and far into the sixties stagecoaches rattled across the prairies or through the dark forests of the Triangle region. They constituted the one reliable means of communication on the far frontier of settlement, bringing to the settlers their mail, their freight, and their friends. Effective and efficient operation of the stage lines required roads — not the good roads of the present day, but roads over which heavy coaches loaded with mail, express, and passengers could be drawn. The stagecoach was an important factor in the struggle for good roads.

Construction of the numerous roads and trails that traversed the Triangle region during the fifties resulted in considerable legislation. Road-building meant expense even though it entailed only removing inconvenient boulders, chopping down trees that could not be avoided, blazing trees here and there,

²⁷ *Chatfield Republican*, June 2, 1858.

²⁸ *Winona Republican*, November 3, 1858.

or driving stakes into the prairie sod to indicate the track. The federal government bore the expense of constructing a few roads, built presumably to facilitate defense in case of attack by the hostile Indians. Such roads formed only a small part of the total fabric at the end of the territorial period, yet they were vital and so located that they provided access to much of the interior. The greater part of the money for road construction during the fifties came, however, from other sources. The territorial legislature of 1849, recognizing that much construction would have to be done during the ensuing years, passed "An Act to provide for laying out Territorial Roads in the Territory of Minnesota and for other purposes." Section 5 limited all territorial roads to a width of sixty-six feet. It further provided that all roads established according to the provisions of the act should be public highways and should be maintained by the counties through which they passed. The cost of laying out roads was to be borne by the territorial treasury. The task of maintenance belonged to the counties.²⁹

All roads constructed during the first few years after 1849 were established by special bills passed by the legislature, which had charge of all road construction and acted upon all petitions for the establishment of roads. During these years only roads actually and vitally needed were requested. After 1854, however, there was a change in the tenor of the demand for roads. The quickening of the tide of immigration brought a flood of petitions from settlers eager for road communication. The legislature in 1856 was called upon to locate ninety-seven roads in the territory, forty-five of which were in the Triangle region.³⁰ The expenses for surveys and construction became items of considerable size. The activity in road legislation aroused much criticism. It was no longer neces-

²⁹ Minnesota Territory, *Acts, Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed by the First Legislative Assembly, 1849*, p. 83.

³⁰ *Session Laws, 1856*, p. 116-152.

sary for the territorial government to assume the expense of road making, since, in large part, the roads were now passing through settled country. In a letter published in a Minnesota Valley paper in 1856 one citizen wrote:

Our legislature during the present session has been little better than a Commissioner's Court; and it is a disgrace that a stop has not been put to this class of special enactments long before this. Let the legislature pass a general law, regulating ferries, roads, etc. . . . With a contemporary we say: "Territorial roads should properly be provided for, and that ferries are a public convenience, no one of course denies. But when you contract a Territorial debt of one hundred thousand dollars at least, merely to pay surveyors and commissioners for laying out roads past every man's farm in the Territory . . . we think it a duty on our part to endorse any action which looks to the checking of such inordinate and reckless legislation."⁸¹

During the extra session of 1857, the legislature passed "A Bill for an Act relating to Public Roads," providing for the election each year of two road commissioners for each county with the power to lay out and alter roads within the limits of a county. Roads might be altered or new roads laid out upon written application to the road commissioners by twelve persons living within the limits of the county. The expense of laying out and constructing roads was to be borne by the county.⁸² The legislature of 1858, in codifying the laws of the state, made certain changes in the road laws. Under the terms of the township organization act, twelve or more citizens living within one mile of a proposed road could petition in writing for the laying out of a road or the alteration of an old one. In addition, the townships of a county were divided into road districts with commissioners in charge of each. A poll tax law required a stipulated amount of labor on the roads within the limits of a county from each male over twenty-one. Under the township act of 1858 this labor,

⁸¹ *St. Peter Courier*, February 12, 1856.

⁸² *Laws*, 1857, extra session, p. 245-249.

however, was restricted to the road district within which the citizen lived. The editor of the *Mantorville Express* commented:

One of the most immediate and important results of our township organization will be the establishment of a thorough and effective system of operations in the working of our highway. . . . Under the present law, the Township is divided into small road districts, and each group of neighbors labor on the roads in which they are most interested.³³

This legislation of 1857 and 1858 solved the problem of road construction in Minnesota for some time. It took the burden of payment from the state as a whole and placed it where the persons using the roads most would pay for them, and it relieved the state of the promise of an overwhelming indebtedness. The legislature in 1857, by its provision in the matter of local petitions, partly remedied the evil of indiscriminate road legislation. The township act of 1858 went further by requiring that the persons so petitioning must live within one mile of the proposed road. Thus, only persons who had an actual need for a road could secure one.

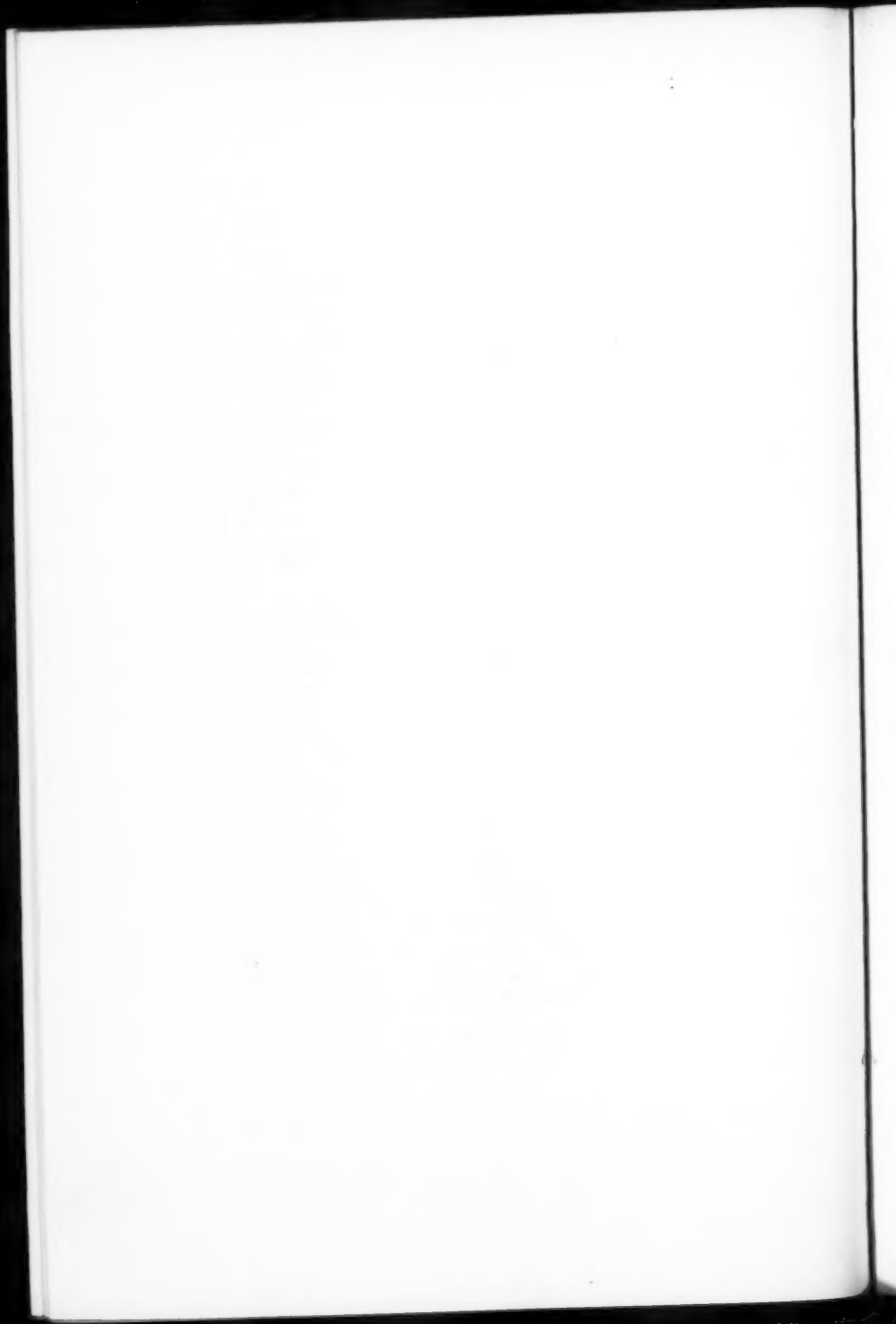
In the brief span of ten or fifteen years a wilderness was conquered. Verdant forests and virgin prairies were subdued as the white man's frontier advanced with miraculous speed. Contributing to this transformation were two elements—a population eager for land, and the opportunity that was open to all to secure it. The factors that made this growth possible included reliable steamboat lines and, more important, the beginnings of an adequate road system. Probably more settlers reached Minnesota, and certainly more people reached their homes in that state, by land than by water. The roads of the interior, stretching for mile upon mile across the wilderness, bore upon their surfaces the burden of the great migration that settled the Triangle region of Minnesota. The

³³ *Statutes*, 1849-58, p. 205-220; *Mantorville Express*, April 17, 1858.

needs of the incoming throngs for access to available land, for adequate protection from the Indians, for the opportunity to market their produce, for mail service at all times of the year, and for adequate stagecoach service, combined with the rivalries of towns, made the construction of roads imperative. The roads of the Minnesota Triangle region were slender threads that tied the whole interior country together — sensitive arteries that gave the scattered communities their life.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL



WILLIAM ALBERT McGONAGLE¹

William A. McGonagle was born at Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, on March 28, 1861, and died at his home at Hunters Park, Duluth, on August 2, 1930. Conshohocken is on the picturesque Schuylkill River some ten miles from the center of Philadelphia, and it is close to the geographic center of a region of great historic interest. McGonagle's father was born at Pottsville about a hundred miles up the Schuylkill, and his mother, Agnes McKeeman McGonagle, at Norristown, close to Conshohocken. Philip J. Kelly, a schoolmate of McGonagle in his early boyhood, recently wrote of him as follows:

I first knew Al at the age of six years as a school boy at the old Public School on 3rd Avenue, Conshohocken, Pa., a little fat, healthy, clean-minded boy, always attentive and excellently behaved. . . . He had no fads that I can recollect, took no interest in athletic sports of any kind; he was an exceptionally clean-minded, wholesome boy, always studious and attentive to his lessons.

McGonagle passed through the grades and the Conshohocken high school, completing the latter in 1876. He then attended the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia and was graduated in 1881 with high honors as a bachelor of science in civil engineering. With a college friend, Samuel T. Wagner, he laid out an imaginary railroad a mile long, with connections, curves, bridges, and a tunnel, and together they wrote a thesis about it which is now on file at the university.

Young McGonagle went to Minnesota in July, 1881, and after about a year with the Little Falls and Dakota Railroad, now a branch of the Northern Pacific, he entered the service

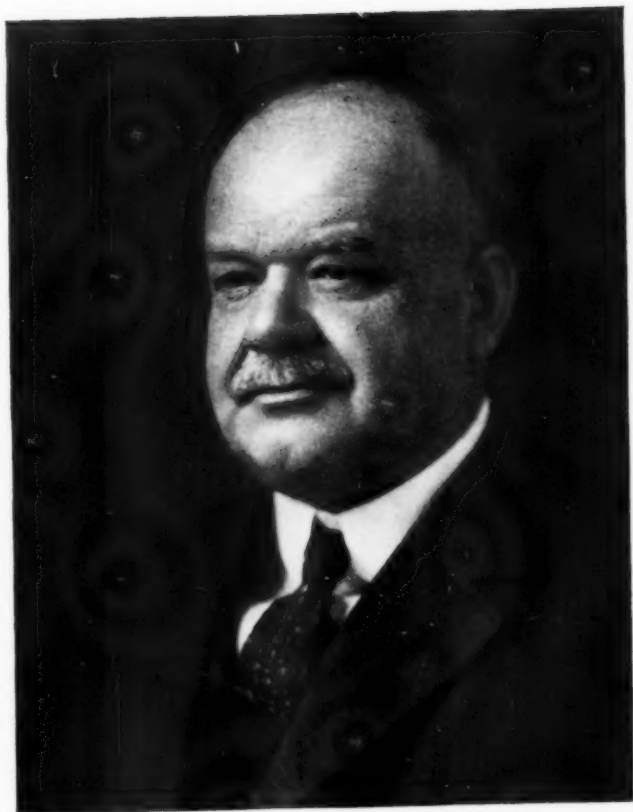
¹Read at a meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society on October 13, 1930, in the Historical Building, St. Paul. *Ed.*

of the Duluth and Iron Range Railway Company in 1882 and continued in that and allied service until his death. At that time northeastern Minnesota was a wilderness. In 1880 there were but 4,505 people in St. Louis County and these were largely at Duluth; 106 people in Lake County; 65 in Cook County; and 1,230 in Carlton County. Itasca County counted 164 souls. A forest covered all, broken only by swamps. Iron ore had been found at Soudan and Tower on Lake Vermilion years before when men were prospecting in vain for reputed gold.

The young engineer was sent to a place in the wilderness, now Two Harbors, to aid in laying out a railroad to the iron mines on Lake Vermilion. When he went to Two Harbors there was no development or settlement of consequence north of Duluth. There were plans and hopes, but no railroads had been built. Aside from the Vermilion trail, which was more usable in winter than in summer, the rivers were the only highways; and there were only a few widely separated clearings and log cabins, where settlers expected some day to see cities. Explorers traveling north from Duluth by the St. Louis River in canoes had found iron ore near Tower. The Ely deposits were unknown and the Mesabi Range undiscovered. Young McGonagle had an undeveloped region before him, and it was his destiny and work to help to develop it. Thus he must be enrolled in the ranks of the pioneers.

Decades later he recalled what he saw, whom he met, what comforts and hardships there were back in 1882 when, as a stout and ambitious youth, he began to survey a railroad to the iron mines on Lake Vermilion. In an address presented in 1925 before employees of the Duluth and Iron Range road who had been in its service thirty years or more, he told the story:

When we reached Knife River [December 7, 1882] about twenty miles away, we were forced to land on account of open water, but we took the ice again on the north side of the river



William A. Donofe

and proceeded to our destination at Agate Bay [*Two Harbors*] where we arrived late in the afternoon and pitched our tents near what is now the land end of Ore Dock No. 1, where Thomas Saxton had built a log claim shanty. We enjoyed a hearty supper in our Cook tent and it was the privilege of a few of us to bunk on the hard timber floor of the shanty where, rolled up in blankets, we tried to sleep.

The next morning it was snowing and continued to snow until there was at least four feet of snow on the level, but nothing daunted, we started out our Engineer Corps to lay out the line of the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad. It was a desperate winter for outdoor work, living as we did in tents with temperatures running forty degrees below zero and lower, but we plodded along, moving our camp every few days, until we finally connected our line with what was known as Case's line near the Whiteface River. Several changes in the line were decided upon to reduce the cost and we moved our Camp back to Stone Lake in August, 1883, where we suffered torments from the mosquitoes that infested the swamps in that locality, but we lived through it and returned to Agate Bay in October. I can distinctly remember that the first iron ore was dumped into the Ore Dock at 11:00 P.M. on July 31st, 1884, winning the race and earning the bonus which was promptly paid by the railroad company.

From the time of his going to Agate Bay as a subordinate surveyor and engineer, McGonagle moved higher from year to year. When death came, he was at the head of the iron ore railways. He moved up by merit. He pleased those above him and was honored and respected by his subordinates. He understood people. He relieved those above him of work and worry and made it easy for those over whom he had control. When he died there were in one way or another about five thousand workers under his direction. They trusted him, knowing that while he exacted duty, he asked it reasonably as he had always performed it.

On December 6, 1882, the Little Falls and Dakota road having been completed, he accepted an offer made by Colonel John B. Fish to assist him in locating and constructing the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad in St. Louis and Lake counties and later was promoted to the offices of resident

engineer, superintendent of bridges and buildings, and assistant chief engineer. He continued in the service of this railroad until July, 1902, when he accepted the position of assistant to the president of the Duluth, Missabe, and Northern Railway Company. In February, 1903, he was promoted to the office of first vice president, and in March, 1909, he was elected president of the company and continued in that office until his death.

It should be understood that McGonagle's railroading was supplemented by social, political, religious, family, Masonic, and other activities. In whatever activities he took part, he went to the top as a matter of course. No one was jealous of him. He was so essential, capable, and necessary. He was at the head of all the important civic volunteer public bodies in Duluth at one time or another and he was a director of a number of business groups other than railroads.

For a full generation McGonagle was in demand for addresses on various subjects by many groups in northern Minnesota. He was disposed to accept all such calls, but he could not. Time was wanting. But he was on perhaps two thousand programs. Two thousand addresses is not too high an estimate. He regarded speaking as a social duty as well as a duty to the great financial interests that he represented. It was not difficult for him, although it was a heavy draft upon his time and strength. He was a charming orator. He talked on civic progress, trade, public charities, religious freedom, Masonry, safety work, railroading, history, war work, Red Cross efforts, Americanization, pioneering, and many other things. He did not orate in the accepted sense. He talked freely and with ease, so that all could hear. He stirred recollections and he always provoked laughter with his humorous tales. He made no pretense of being a public speaker, and yet crowds always went to hear him.

McGonagle regarded religion as a necessity and hence he was active in the affairs of the Pilgrim Congregational Church

of which he was a member and for a time chairman of the board of trustees. During his later years he often addressed differing groups in support of religious freedom without any proscription for one's views. He remembered many religious bodies in his will, among other bequests leaving a thousand dollars to the Methodist Episcopal church at Conshohocken, in honor of his father and mother.

He was an active Mason and the recipient of many Masonic honors. He was a member of all the Masonic bodies in Duluth and was master of Palestine Lodge no. 79, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons; high priest of Keystone chapter no. 20, Royal Arch Masons; commander of Duluth commandery no. 18, Knights Templars; most puissant sovereign of St. George's Conclave, Knights of the Red Cross of Constantine; and a member of the Societas Rosicruciana, a branch of which was established in Duluth. He was elected grand master of the Masons of Minnesota in January, 1904, and was at the time of his death vice president and a trustee of the Minnesota Masonic Home.

McGonagle's Y.M.C.A. work was extensive. He planned camps for the boys and campaigns for the men. He was instrumental in founding Camp McGonagle and giving it to the Proctor Y.M.C.A. for the use of the children of the employees of the Missabe railway company. He took a leading part in what is commonly known as safety work. The fact that injuries in industry were nearly always due to some oversight or neglect appalled him. Thus his earnest support was behind all efforts to make work safe for workers. Here his warm heart and business sense combined to help people and to aid business of all kinds. He said industrial carelessness "was a disgrace." He was a natural leader in this work and the railroads under him were in the front rank for industrial safety.

He led the work of relief after the great forest fires in Minnesota in 1910 and 1918. In 1910 he represented the

American Red Cross and in 1918 he was in charge for the state. Millions were expended under his advice and administration. During the World War, as chairman of the Duluth chapter of the American Red Cross, which has sixty thousand members, he supervised this organization, sending vast amounts of needed supplies to the men at the front.

He was a member of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce; the Duluth Boat Club; the Kitchi Gammi, Northland Country, Ridgeview Country, and Kiwanis clubs of Duluth; the Gitchinadji Country Club of Superior, Wisconsin; the New York Railroad Club; the Los Angeles Country Club of Los Angeles; the Pasadena Golf Club of Altadena; the Minnesota Club of St. Paul; and the White Bear Yacht Club.

In common with most men of unusual mental power, McGonagle loved history. He did not wish that the past, vivid to him, should be forgotten. Hence on all occasions he promoted historical work. He encouraged all movements by his subordinates to preserve history and to organize museums. On February 21, 1913, he became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society and on January 14, 1918, he was elected to its executive council, a position that he held until his death. He was one of the founders of the St. Louis County Historical Society and was a member of its board of governors from the beginning. The writer, who has held an executive place in that local society, recalls that McGonagle attended the meetings of the society with scrupulous care. He always had suggestions of value to lay before the society. He encouraged the society with his influence. He said to the writer a few years ago that he hoped to reduce his general labors within a short time and give most of his energies to historical writing and studies. Perhaps he was then conscious of decreasing strength and wished to do some valuable historical work before the end. However that may be, he did not realize this wish because, while giving historical workers unstinted

encouragement, he remained in business harness until the end. The St. Louis County Historical Society, since it was founded in 1923, has held many program meetings in the cities and towns north of Duluth in the iron country. McGonagle attended many of these meetings, often traveling to them in his special car attached to passenger trains and taking with him as his guests officers of the society and speakers. Once the writer took occasion to thank him for his interest and courtesy. His answer was "Do not thank me. I do this because it is a duty and a pleasure. It is a grand work. I wish I had time to do more."

He was married in 1887 and the bride of his youth, Sarah L. Sargent of Methuen, Massachusetts, survives him. Four children were born to them, of whom two, Robert Emerson McGonagle and Mary McGonagle Tibbetts, both of Duluth, survive. A son, William A., Jr., died in early youth in December, 1920, and another son, Joseph Sargent McGonagle, died on December 23, 1929, leaving a widow and children.

McGonagle was a large man physically, of erect carriage. He was always gracious and friendly. His memory was remarkable for its tenacity, and he was fond of exercising it, comparing the past with the present, noting changes, and planning progress. He had a fine sense of humor and his judgment of men and things was accurate. He was a personal friend of national leaders in business and politics and at the same time on friendly terms with those whose duties entailed manual toil.

In May, 1925, McGonagle was chosen as a member of the Hall of Fame for Duluth. His picture as such a member is hung in the Duluth City Hall. A plaque recording the selection was given to him at a banquet held on May 14, 1925. Thus he knew long ago how the people loved him. In a leading building at Two Harbors, where he began his career in Minnesota, there is a noble fireplace made of native rocks and stones

decorated with iron ores from the mines and inscribed with a fine sentiment of which McGonagle was the author. This was his gift to the city and in part his monument there.

At the hour of McGonagle's funeral on August 5 all work on the railroads in northeastern Minnesota ceased for five minutes. The press was strong in praise of him. The *Duluth Evening Herald* of August 4 concluded an editorial in his honor as follows:

Duluth will never forget him. Among the first as pioneer and railway official, among the first as neighbor, father, and husband, some who knew him will honor him for all his good qualities, some for some one of them, and every man will hold him first for something.

The *Labor World* of August 9 has this:

More than any other human factor it was Mr. McGonagle's fine personality, high character and democratic mannerism that won for the United States Steel corporation the public support it has long enjoyed from this community. It was his contact with the people that in large measure served to temper local public prejudices against this great industrial organization.

WILLIAM E. CULKIN

ST. LOUIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
DULUTH

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Westward: The Romance of the American Frontier. By E. DOUGLAS BRANCH. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1930. xi, 627 p. Illustrations, maps. \$5.00.)

In fact and in logic the history of the frontier in America begins on the Atlantic beach, and continues until the last of the area suitable for the use of the typical single-family farmer passed into private hands. It runs from 1607 until not far from the financial crisis of 1893. It divides into two unequal parts: the former dealing with the first century and a half, during which, on the whole, the matter has to do with a series of European frontiers in the New World; the latter running since the close of the French wars and the issuance of the Proclamation of 1763, during which period the frontiers are chiefly American made, of American extraction.

Although the logic of the matter calls for a complete sweep over American history, much of the usage of historians has tended to begin the story near the opening of the second period. Thus it is presented in Professor Riegel's new *America Moves West* (1930) and thus it was sketched in my own *History of the American Frontier* (1924). But in *Westward*, which is now at hand, Mr. Branch has contracted to cover the whole theme, and in the first pages of his sprightly book he starts "When Massachusetts Was West." He does not, however, follow his contract to its implications. The American character, shaped on the frontier, began to be so shaped as soon as the first Europeans made contact with free land and the wilderness. It would have been appropriate to fit into the chapters covering this experience much of the basic detail upon which the whole argument of any frontier book must depend. But Mr. Branch has treated the period as only a curtain-raiser to a story of conventional propor-

tions which begins to run its usual course after the first hundred pages of colonial episode.

On the whole, Mr. Branch is not much concerned with the argument of the matter. He does not care greatly for the fundamental economics upon which frontier life was based and from which came much of its motivation. He is not interested in the land and its problem, or in the filtration of institutions that occurred along the border, or in that rebirth of self-governing communities that constitutes for us a clinic in democratic government. His passion, instead, is for human detail, and he has embroidered upon a rather thin fabric a heavy pattern of episode. His reading has been wide and his sense for the picturesque is good; but, not caring for the fundamental pattern upon which he works, he has given to his attractive book rather less meaning than he was capable of giving it. His love for unusual words gives his vocabulary an ornateness rare in historical composition; sometimes it adds piquancy to his descriptions for those who know the meaning of his words. But from start to finish he deals in personality and detail, and the nature of his purpose has made it unnecessary for him to cite chapter and verse for his authority at any point. Anyone who has read the literature for himself, however, will recognize old friends on every page, and will appreciate the industry and discrimination with which Mr. Branch has worked.

The book aims to attract the attention of the lay public. It will, if it succeeds, be useful to all of us who are more prosaic in our method.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

When the West Is Gone (Brown University, *The Colver Lectures*, 1929). By FREDERIC L. PAXSON, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, [1930]. 137 p. \$2.00.)

The Colver Lectures delivered by Frederic L. Paxson at Brown University in 1929 have received the customary courtesy of publication. *When the West Is Gone* is properly one lecture in

three parts. "One day or year we [*Americans*] act as the children of pioneer fathers might be expected to act; the next we behave like wealthy owners of a share of industrial society. We shall I suppose eventually average up to a uniform policy." Will our frontier heritage, puts the lecturer, be a help or a hindrance? Professor Paxson has, for the moment, turned eschatologist. He remains an admirable historian.

In his opening remarks the lecturer recalls the aphorism, "All the knowledge any human may possess about the future must be derived from his knowledge of the past." If we enter this scholium upon the margin, "Erratum: for 'future' read 'present,'" we have a pretty fair truism. If we write "stet," we thrust upon Clio a burden that she has never carried willingly or gracefully. The best prophets—prophets with their hearts in their work, I mean—have never been historians. Once they were metaphysicians, lately they were economists, and at present they are imbrued with pure science. The historical discipline is the poorest possible for an augur. *When the West Is Gone* reveals its handicaps—the lecturer admits that "error and ignorance and preconception are the stumbling blocks of prophecy," and puts forward his conclusions tentatively where a less informed person would be more positive. But not, I think, tentatively enough.

Professor Paxson assumes, initially, the immanence of some kind of international, semiadministrative superstructure. If he derives this premise from his knowledge of the past, he does not demonstrate the derivation; actually, it seems a fixed preconception, and the lecturer's problem is, using his keen knowledge of our nation's past, to determine whether our nation will be the right sort of peg for its destined hole in the international structure. He feels that it will; that, indeed, the American frontier may "prove to be the happy episode in world experience that suggested the basis for a finer and truer co-operation within the nations and without." To reach this conviction he must accept the theory of acquired characteristics unreservedly; Professor Paxson recognizes the necessity, and makes the commitment.

First, says the lecturer, "it is necessary to view the West when it was new and to inquire what it was. When next we meet, it will be useful to consider why it was that the West survived, as Middle West, despite the forces continuously working for its assimilation and conversion. And at the last will come the opportunity to face the larger questions of what we shall be when the West is gone." This second step, the second lecture in the series, is, to my taste, the neatest piece of historical writing since the Beards' chapter on "The Gilded Age." In explaining the tenacity of the Middle West, Professor Paxson's talent at clear-cut, succinct summarizing has never produced a more effective, more convincing article.

E. DOUGLAS BRANCH

The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. By HAROLD A. INNIS, associate professor of political economy in the University of Toronto. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930. 444 p. Map. \$5.00.)

As the general preface states, this historical sketch is a companion volume to the author's *The Fur Trade of Canada*, "an analytic study of the industry" which appeared in 1927. Unlike most other studies of the fur trade it is not limited to a particular period or to a given area within the country with which it is concerned. The limitation imposed by the modern international boundary, however, results in a certain incompleteness, for at times parts of the United States were as directly concerned with the administration of the Canadian fur trade as were many portions of the region known at the present time as Canada. Though Mr. Innis has indicated this relationship, he has been unable to treat in detail any other area than the modern Dominion. Nevertheless, those interested in the history of the trade in American regions that were economically identified with the Canadian régime will be comforted to learn that the main theses of this book are sound for them, at least for the period prior to 1815.

Few researchers in the intricate study of the fur trade have seen its fundamental significance. Most have been content to see only trees in a forest of facts, but Mr. Innis occasionally ascends to a vantage point from which not only the whole forest is visible, but the countryside as well. Thus, after showing how in the French régime the individual trader was of dominant importance in the interior, whereas the marketing of furs was controlled by a centralized monopoly, he points out the significance of this two-fold development for the success of French resistance to British competition until the conquest.

The advantages of the St. Lawrence drainage basin were sufficient to promote the growth of institutions and organizations which effectively checked competition from other drainage basins. When these advantages had disappeared through the exhaustion of the supply of beaver, these institutions continued effective. From the standpoint of the trader, long experience in dealing with native populations, knowledge of Indian economy and Indian life were of crucial importance in checking outside competition. From the standpoint of centralized monopoly, a highly developed militaristic organization in erecting fortified posts and in carrying on effective campaigns was able to supplement the influence of the trader.

Eventually, however, these institutions broke down, and as a result not only the colony but the mother country was weakened. Then France lost Canada.

Institutional development characteristic of the fur trade was not adequate to the new economic conditions. . . . Eventually colonies dependent on the fur trade were destined to take a subordinate position to those geographic areas which gave a more diversified economic development. . . . The conquest of New France was largely the result of the efficiency of English manufactures combined with the control of shorter routes to the interior from New York and Hudson Bay.

After the British conquest, Mr. Innis points out, competition was no longer with foreign colonists, but between the Hudson's Bay Company and the heirs of the French régime, the Northwest Company. This became a contest in the effectiveness of two

kinds of transportation typified by the York boat and the birch-bark canoe, the one representing a relatively cheap route by sea and great rivers, the other a superb personnel developed by a dangerous and difficult line of communication dotted with portages. A large part of the volume is devoted to these two organizations, the points of view, policies, and personnel of which were so diverse at the outset of their rivalry, but which combined in 1821 to form a company of such strength that it has survived to the present. The contributions of both are summed up as follows: "The Northwest Company which extended its organization from the Atlantic to the Pacific developed along lines which were fundamentally linked to the technique of the fur trade. This organization was strengthened in the amalgamation of 1821 by control of a charter guaranteeing monopoly and by the advantages incidental to lower costs of transportation by Hudson Bay." Thus the author is not misled into the current misconception that the Hudson's Bay Company contributed the larger part of the policy and resources of the amalgamated company. The importance of the contributions of the Northwest Company is also stressed. In addition, that company's significance for Canada and the empire is pointed out. At the time of the American Revolution it was "a new organization which was instrumental in securing the Quebec Act and which contributed to the future of the American Revolution so far as it affected Quebec and the St. Lawrence." In its later years it "assured a permanent attachment to Great Britain [*instead of the United States*] because of its dependence on English manufactures." It was of even greater service to the political destiny of Canada, for it was "the forerunner of confederation." The policies, trade methods, successes, and failures of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1821 fill almost half of the volume and are discussed with an impartiality and freshness of viewpoint that are wholly satisfying.

This is a book for the specialist and not for the undergraduate. A thorough understanding of the details of Canadian and American history is presumed. Explanations of references and of allusions are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, the reader must be well-grounded in French,—not merely the Parisian

variety, but also that of the French-Canadian fur-traders,— for the author translates or not according to his whim. One suspects at times that even his French was inadequate to the curious jargon that characterized the traders. Nevertheless most of its terms had English equivalents among the traders from Hudson Bay and in the United States, though a long search is often necessary to determine them.

The omission of a bibliography is unfortunate, especially since the author uses many *op. cit.* references in his annotation. It is annoying and wasteful of time to be obliged to search for the first reference to a work in order to determine which of many books by a well-known author has been utilized. A complete list of the books, manuscripts, and other data cited in the footnotes would constitute one of the best available bibliographies on the fur trade. In the case of manuscripts, the author has not been explicit in his footnotes with reference to their location, language, length, and the like.

It must be added that in numerous instances no sources whatever are given for statements of some significance. Thus on page 245 the authorities for four statements in a single paragraph have not been indicated. Pages 226, 235, and 297 also need further annotation. Many fresh manuscript sources have been utilized, especially in the Canadian Archives and in depositories in Toronto. Apparently the author did not consult the diaries of traders preserved in the library of McGill University, nor some of the other manuscripts located there.

The physical appearance of the volume is all that could be desired, with the possible exception of page 193, where the text is abruptly cut short to permit a table to appear *in toto* on the following page; and of paragraphs of statistical data that would be much more pleasing to the eye, as well as more useful, in tabular form. It is the reviewer's opinion that lists such as that of traders, canoes, cargoes, and men found on pages 196 and 197 would be more useful in footnotes or appendices. Only one typographical error has been noted, and that a very minor one. As there is no list of plates, the very useful map of posts opposite page 376 will be discovered by many after the waste of a great deal of time in

looking up rivers and forts on maps in other books. The index is reasonably full, though there are some peculiarities — for example, "Anglican Missions" is listed under the first word with no entry for the second, though the activities of other sects are mentioned in the text. And surely it would not have been difficult to find the Christian names of Father Aulneau, De Repentigny, De Razilly, De Saint Pierre, Deschambault, De Seignelay, De Tracy, Du Luth, Radisson, and Groseilliers, to mention but a few of the patronymics that stand alone in the index. And is it not unusual to include in an index such an item as "Porteous, Mr."?

GRACE LEE NUTE

The Trans-Mississippi West: Papers Read at a Conference Held at the University of Colorado, June 18-June 21, 1929.
Edited by JAMES F. WILLARD and COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ.
(Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930. xi, 366 p. \$2.00.)

With a subject as broad and replete with possibilities as the *Trans-Mississippi West* one may expect to find a conference ranging from the river to the Pacific and from the Mexican border to the Canadian Northwest, with a variety of topics limited only by the imagination of the sponsors and the exigencies of time. Such a thing as a review in the ordinary sense of the term is out of the question, for, although the general subject supplies a thread of unity, the contributions extend from syntheses like Herbert E. Bolton's "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands" to the "West in American Literature," presented in varying aspects by Percy H. Boynton, Walter S. Campbell, and Lucy L. Hazard, or western missions, transportation, the "Historiography of American Territorial Expansion" by Eugene C. Barker, "Historical Geography and the Western Frontier" by Carl Sauer, "Finance and the Frontier" by Frederick L. Paxson, or "The Problem of Adequate Historical Collections" by Solon J. Buck.

Prepared for round-table discussions, these papers are singularly free from sweeping generalizations of a loose character. Many, perhaps most of them, are constructive contributions to historical knowledge. Even more significant are the suggestions as to un-

worked or little-worked fields or to new approaches to problems already subjected to investigation. Colin B. Goodykoontz, for example, both adds to available information about "Protestant Home Missions and Education in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1835-1860" and shows how there is still much to be done to integrate this phase of activity with the general topic of westward expansion. He calls attention to the limited manner in which the papers and documents of missionary and church bodies have been hitherto used. Even the old controversy about the importance of Whitman's Oregon activities has new light shed upon it by Archer B. Hulbert's "Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman." His emphasis on the relation of the proposed curtailing of the Oregon mission to the activities of the American Board in other fields puts the whole matter in a new light.

In like manner John C. Parish's study of migrants "By Sea to California" calls attention to a fresh aspect of the gold rush; his investigation has developed the neglected fact that the Forty-niners who crossed the plains and the mountains were not responsible for everything that took place in the region about the Golden Gate, that the argonaut who took the water route was from a different social group and tended to play a different part in the economic and cultural life of the Pacific coast. LeRoy R. Hafen, in "Hand Cart Migration Across the Plains," likewise touches upon a phase of the westward movement that has been little noticed.

Frederic L. Paxson brings a ray of hope to the university teacher who sometimes finds himself at a loss in suggesting topics for theses for the ever-increasing horde of candidates for advanced degrees when he points out that "the spade and pick work necessary for the full confirmation of the Turner hypothesis"—namely, "that the frontier has exercised a larger influence in directing the general course of American affairs than its population, its wealth, or the creative novelty of its ideas would seem to warrant"—is yet to be done. Specifically he notes the need of this spade work in the field of "Finance and the Frontier," the cost of moving the settler to the new frontier and the methods by which he built up "the local fluid wealth" to a point where "this indigenous

capital" balanced the "absentee-owned debt" and made him independent; in other words, the point where that frontier ceased to be frontier. Such studies call for the exploitation of papers hardly yet begun to be collected, to say nothing of being utilized in any appreciable degree by historians. Dr. Buck's paper dovetails with Professor Paxson's suggestions when he emphasizes the need of saving and putting in manageable shape the masses of material heretofore neglected if not lost altogether.

Still another little-considered field receives attention in Carl Sauer's "Historical Geography and the Western Frontier," while Joseph Schafer's "Rural Life Survey of a Western State" shows, among other things, how in some degree Dr. Sauer's suggestions may be worked out.

Not all the papers printed in this book have been noted in this review; enough, however, has been said to indicate the utility of such a conference as Professors Willard and Goodykoontz engineered and to convey some inkling of the inspiration to workers in the historical field these meetings must have been.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

John Marsh, Pioneer: The Life Story of a Trail-blazer on Six Frontiers. By GEORGE D. LYMAN. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. xii, 394 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

There are times when one with an avocation pursues his aim more persistently than one with a vocation. Dr. George D. Lyman is not a biographer or historian by profession, but a very successful physician in San Francisco. His quest, he tells us, of the story of John Marsh "lasted for more than five years and led me from the Pacific to the Atlantic, from California to Massachusetts, and then through the files of the great State [historical] libraries of the country." It was in the libraries of the Minnesota and Wisconsin historical societies that Dr. Lyman found the material for the early career of his subject and decided that a biography of this strange, interesting man, John Marsh, would be worth while.

Dr. Lyman became interested in Marsh in California, where he was the first American to practice medicine. The author then

discovered that Marsh had been the first schoolmaster in Minnesota, whither he had gone to teach the children of the officers at Fort Snelling. He also found that Marsh had carefully studied the language and the customs of the Sioux and may be called one of the first ethnologists in Minnesota. Pursuing his trail he came upon Marsh as Indian agent, first at Fort Snelling, then, through the favor of Governor Cass, at Prairie du Chien. It was while he held this latter office that he had the distinction of receiving the surrender at the portage of Red Bird, the hostile Indian chief — an event called by the late Dr. R. G. Thwaites the most romantic episode in early Wisconsin history.

Three years later Marsh had the less enviable notoriety of betraying the Fox Indians to the Sioux and instigating the massacre of the former near Prairie du Chien. For Marsh was now a Sioux "squaw man," having taken as consort a young Siouan-French half-breed, Marguerite Decouteaux. After the massacre Marsh found that she and her young son were in great danger at Prairie du Chien and took them for safety to New Salem, Illinois, where he placed them in the care of a neighbor of Abraham Lincoln. He had now lost his position as Indian agent, although he was pressed into service during the fateful months of the Black Hawk War, when he visited the Sioux and induced them to take up arms against the hostiles.

Meanwhile Marguerite had become homesick in the strange atmosphere of New Salem, had run away, and by a long dangerous journey had reached Marsh at Prairie du Chien. There, worn by the hardships she had undergone, she soon died. Marsh no longer wished to tarry at this place where he had lived and loved too well and turned to the Southwest, where after many vicissitudes he finally arrived at Spanish California, and later aided in establishing there the American régime. Many years later his mixed-blood son appeared at his door, a wanderer and a beggar, and knew not that it was his father from whom he asked aid. Marsh, who lived at Mount Diabolo in the Santa Clara Valley, became a recluse and a misanthrope and was finally murdered in 1856 by some Mexican ruffians.

It is a sad yet thrilling story, and Dr. Lyman appreciates it to

the full; it justifies his subtitle: "The Life Story of a Trail-blazer on Six Frontiers." By full documentation the author proves the seemingly improbable narrative to be strictly true and once more exemplifies the adage that "fact is stranger than fiction."

Dr. Lyman thinks that Marsh was the only Harvard graduate who led a life upon the frontier; he makes much of the fact that this man of the backwoods carried a diploma. "Herein," he says, "lies John Marsh's chief title to fame. Not only did he blaze a trail; he carried a torch." Possibly our author over-emphasizes the value of a college diploma at that early day and accords more scholarship and refinement to his subject than he deserves. But he has made a well-written and closely wrought narrative that holds the reader absorbed to the end. The book is attractively printed, has a good bibliography worked into the notes, a good index, two maps on the lining papers of the covers, and illustrations that illuminate the text. Most important of all to historical readers, the author has unearthed and printed considerable new source material on preterritorial days in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

It is a biography worth reading and pondering. As long as men love romance and the wild life of the frontier, so long will Marsh's story be prized. Only one thing is lacking to make it of permanent value—a noble character. Marsh failed himself, his ancestry, and his *Alma Mater* at the crises of his career. Compare his personality with that of another California trail-blazer, Jedediah Smith, and this book is seen to be not only a biography but a study in abnormal psychology, a lesson in human nature to be conned as well as a romance to be enjoyed.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

A Pioneer of Old Superior. By LILLIAN KIMBALL STEWART.
(Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, [1930]. 322 p.
\$2.50.)

The experiences of Charles Dean Kimball, the central figure of this book, span a comparatively brief period in the great drama of the westward movement, but are not for that reason lacking

in significance. This pioneer of Old Superior went to Wisconsin in 1848 from the region of the Kennebec River in Maine. He was drowned in Lake Superior not far from Grand Marais, Minnesota, in 1864, while serving as a member of Dr. A. W. Hanchett's geological expedition. As a lumberman, engineer, surveyor, geologist, and miner, Kimball displayed the energy and versatility of a true pioneer—traits apparently bred in him, for he was descended from a family which began its migrations with the Puritan movement to America and for eight generations attacked successive frontiers, overcoming every opposing force of nature and red men.

The author, who is Kimball's daughter, fortunately has not confined her efforts to giving a simple biography of her father, but has portrayed in effective fashion many of the larger scenes of western expansion in which her family lived. A fascinating story is told of the founding of Superior and the neighboring city of Duluth. In the development of settlement in that region Kimball's name is frequently mentioned. Some of Superior's earliest harbor improvements, as well as numerous business houses and dwellings in the settlement, were planned and built by him. Shrewd town-site speculations made him prosperous; and even the panic of 1857, which put an end to the mushroom-like growth of the young Wisconsin city, did not cause him to lose faith in the future of his new home. Perhaps the fact that national figures like Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckenridge were also financially interested in the project at Superior served to increase Kimball's confidence in its success. As a result, even the Civil War with its attendant threats of Indian perils and Canadian intervention did not dismay him. The constant strain imposed by such conditions, however, combined with other forces to wear down his physical resistance. His wife was left crippled after a serious illness during which he could get no adequate medical attention for her. A favorite brother met death in Lake Superior by drowning. And finally he had to face the question of whether to join the Union army and leave his family on the bleak shores of the northern lake or stay with them. He chose the latter course, but his decision gave him no peace of mind.

Throughout the story the reader feels that while Mrs. Stewart has used family records and other general sources with patience, she has drawn liberally upon her own memory of these scenes of her early childhood and also, it must be added, upon her imagination. To Minnesotans the tale, so far as it relates to the St. Louis River and "Arrowhead" regions and to Indian life in the northern part of their state, is of particular interest. The story of the Hanchett geological survey, involving, as it does, the untimely death of Kimball, illustrates once more the grim way in which the frontier exacts its toll from those who would seek its mysteries. Moreover Mrs. Stewart's account indicates that, in addition to the official purpose of the expedition, its organizers intended to investigate the possibility of promoting with the aid of eastern capital extensive mining operations in the Arrowhead country. Certainly Kimball and his companions anticipated the future of that great iron-mining region, though their schemes were unsuccessful. The book is well written, despite certain minor errors. The reviewer feels that much of the first chapter, which contributes nothing to the story itself, could have been omitted to advantage.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

A History of Swift County (A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Minnesota in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts, October 28, 1929). By STANLEY HOLTE ANONSEN. ([Appleton, Swift County Historical Society, 1930]. 77 p.)

This county history is quite different in appearance and content from the species that has hitherto appeared on the market. Within the heavy morocco binding of the old type of history were embalmed full-page photographs and biographical sketches of the presidents of the United States and the governors of the state, followed by more or less accurate chapters on the various churches, business enterprises, and other activities of individuals and groups of individuals, concluding with eulogies and photographs of such public-spirited citizens as were willing and able

to contribute the sum necessary to give them space. The present volume, which is published by the Swift County Historical Society, is modest in dress and language and smells strongly of the technique of a seminar in American history. It was originally submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Minnesota "in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts." According to the preface, it seeks to describe the settlement and economic development of one of the administrative units of Minnesota.

The footnotes and bibliography furnish ample evidence of the industry and skill of the author in collecting material, as well as the possibilities of county history for research; but it requires more imagination than the average graduate student possesses to breathe life into the documents. Mr. Anonsen has traced in painstaking fashion the emergence of Swift County from the Indian era, the process of settlement, the racial composition of the population, the rise and development of towns and villages, the invasion of the railway, the building of highways, the organization of school districts and congregations, the establishment of newspapers, the ups and downs of agriculture, commercial activity, and the like. Mr. Anonsen evidently was disappointed in the results of his research on the political history of the county. Instead of enumerating a long list of nominating conventions, candidates, and platforms, which he found differed in no essentials from the national and state parties, he pays his respects to the political activity of the citizens by giving a short chapter entitled "Politics" and supplements it with an analysis of election results and tables of successful candidates. In national politics the county has been consistently Republican, although agricultural depression and factional fights have occasionally upset the plans of the G.O.P. Democrats like John Lind and John A. Johnson have wooed many away from the dominant party, and the candidates of the Nonpartisan League for the legislature have also won favor.

Two events of catastrophic proportions are listed in the annals of the county, namely, the Sioux Massacre in 1862 and the visitation of the grasshoppers in 1876 and 1877. Mr. Anonsen's

research has added nothing to our knowledge of these events, perhaps through no fault of his. Among the interesting paragraphs are those given to the effort of the Catholic Bureau of Colonization, under the directing genius of Bishop Ireland, to establish a colony, which in the first years ran afoul of the grasshopper plague.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

The War Cry of the Sioux: A Historical Romance from the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. By EDDY E. BILLBERG. (Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, [1930]. 162 p. \$1.75.)

Nathan Almer, "the prairie scout," eluding the murderous Sioux after the ambush at Redwood Ferry, finds his lost sweetheart Claudia a refugee, wandering in the Minnesota Valley with a helpless infant clasped in her arms. Almer and Claudia had previously been separated by a dastardly plot, the falsity of which Claudia had discovered only after her lover's enlistment in the Union Army. Wounded and invalided home soon after, he had offered his services as scout in the Sioux Uprising. Placing Claudia in concealment, our hero returns to ensure the safety of other civilian refugees, but in his absence Joe Pierre, the half-breed, lures Claudia to captivity in the Indian camp. The scout sees the other refugees safe in New Ulm, and then returns to seek Claudia.

The rest of the book is concerned with this search. The prairie scout and a friend watch from a distance the battle of Birch Cooley; they participate in the defense of Fort Ridgely and the battle of Wood Lake; they are present at Camp Release—but Claudia is not there. There Almer learns, however, that she has been rescued from Joe Pierre by friendly Sisseton, who are taking her to Fort Abercrombie for safety. Hastening forward on the Sisseton's trail, they find that Joe Pierre has surprised the little company and recaptured Claudia. Then follows a hot pursuit over the prairie; Joe Pierre and a companion are slain, but not before they have shot Claudia; and the rescuers take the wounded maiden to Fort Abercrombie. Here come also their Sisseton friends with

the white infant whose safety so concerned Claudia; here Claudia, after lingering at the brink of death, recovers and plights her troth to the prairie scout; here too the future of the orphan child is made bright by his adoption by the affianced couple.

Though the book throws no new light on the Sioux Uprising, it may be said to enliven history by the thrilling story here summarized.

E. H. B.

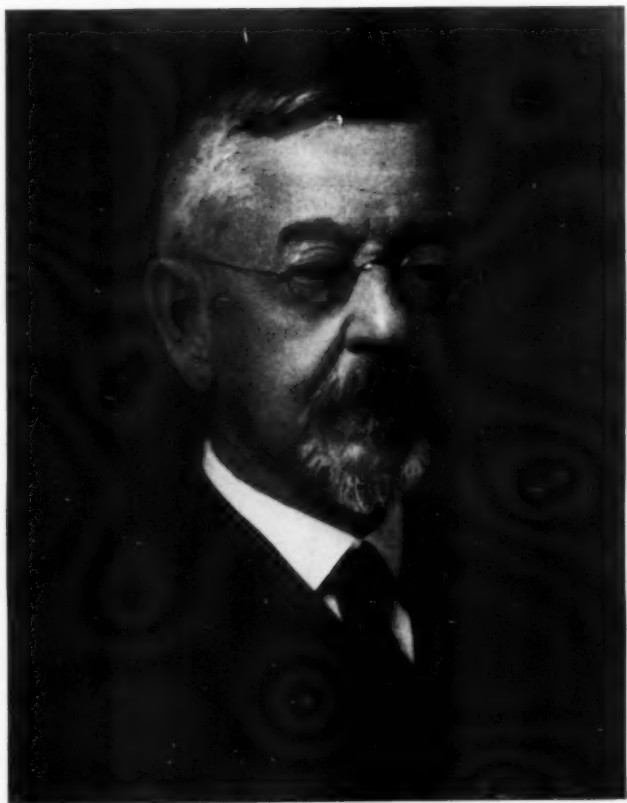
MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

An informal talk on the Sioux by Dr. Charles A. Eastman, the noted authority on Indian life, was given at a stated meeting of the society's executive council held in the superintendent's office on the evening of October 13, with the president, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, presiding. The program also included memorials in honor of two council members who died recently. That of the late William A. McGonagle was prepared by the Honorable William E. Culkin of Duluth and read in his absence by Dr. Blegen. The memorial of the late Frederic A. Fogg was presented by Mr. Ira C. Oehler of St. Paul. Mr. Culkin's paper appears elsewhere in this number of the magazine, and that by Mr. Oehler is published herewith.

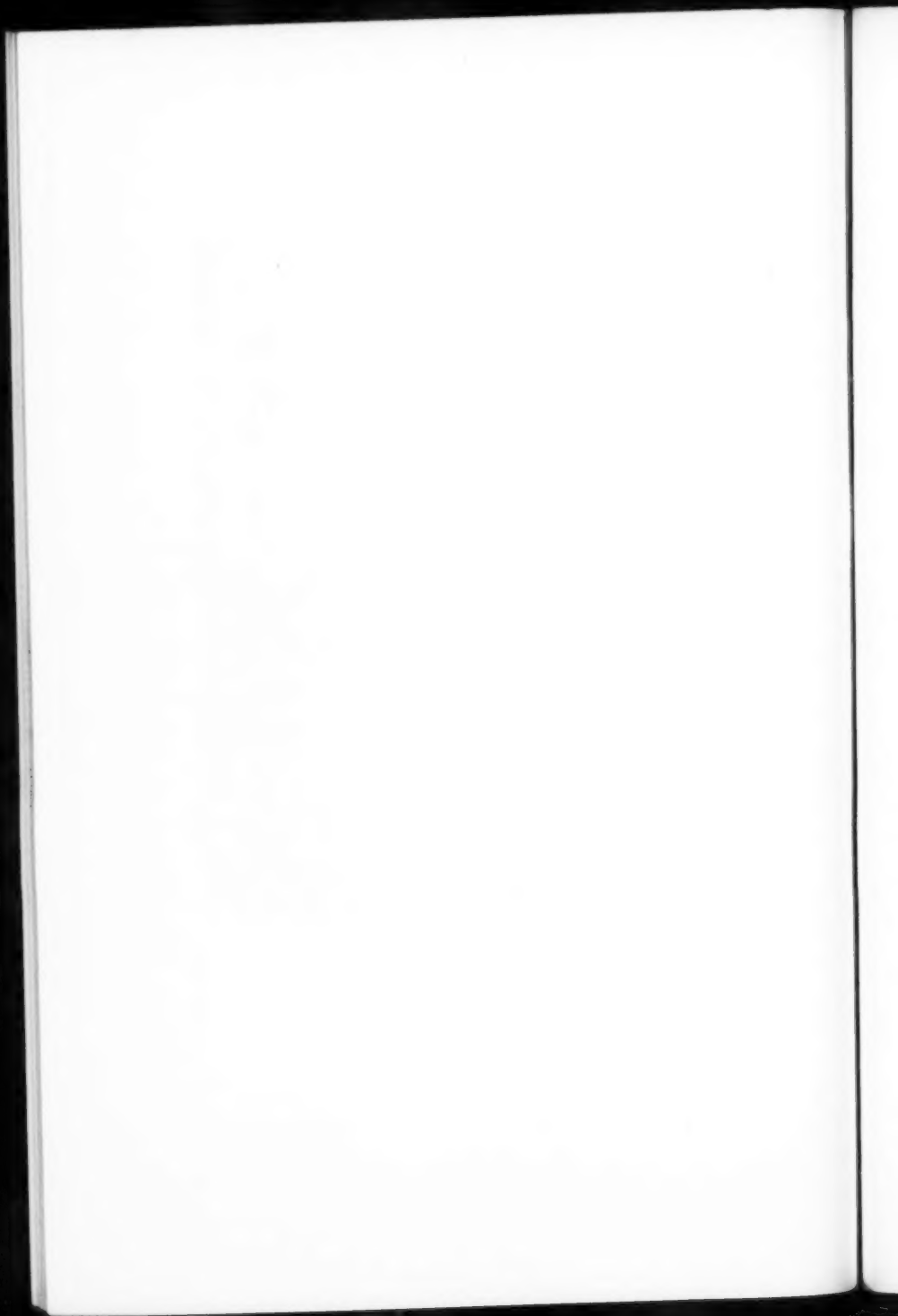
FREDERIC AUGUSTINE FOGG

Frederic Augustine Fogg was born on July 12, 1850, in Portland, Maine, the son of Sumner and Caroline Goding Fogg, both descended from English colonists who arrived in New England before the middle of the seventeenth century. He attended the public schools at Portland, Maine, and Bowdoin College, from which he was graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1869.

The following year Fogg went to Minnesota, teaching school the first year at Elk River. For several years he was principal of the Jefferson School in St. Paul. He served as superintendent of the Ramsey County schools for one year, 1877-78. In 1877 he opened a private school at the corner of Fifth and Franklin streets. This was called the English and Classical School and consisted of a primary and an advanced department, the latter being a college preparatory department. He was engaged in educational work until 1881. Although he then turned from school work to business, he maintained his interest in the educational affairs of St. Paul and was president of the board of education in 1885-86. Later he became interested in the development of the public library and was a member of its board of directors from 1900 to 1914. He served as chairman of the building committee under the direction of which the present public library building was erected and equipped.



Fredine A. Fogg



Fogg was a member of the Minnesota Historical Society for many years, serving on the executive council from 1906 until 1927. He became second vice president on February 8, 1915, first vice president on March 2, 1918, and president on January 17, 1921. The latter office he held for the usual term of three years.

His business interests were many and varied. In 1881 he became secretary of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, a position which he held for two years. Later he became president of the Northwestern Town Lot Company and a member and president of the board of trustees of special stock of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company. This trust held more than four hundred thousand acres of the land grant of the railway, located in nineteen counties, for the most part in southwestern Minnesota. Fogg gave personal and effective attention to the development and cultivation of many thousands of acres of land in southern Minnesota. He was a vice president of the St. Paul Trust Company. He was one of the incorporators of the Northwestern Trust Company in 1903, and he served as its vice president and director. He was a director of the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company from April 20, 1896.

Fogg was married to Louise Miller on December 30, 1880. Two children, Frederic M. and Caroline (Mrs. Thomas J. Cassidy), were born to them. At his death on March 27, 1930, he was survived by his son and by four grandchildren, the children of his daughter.

Fogg was a member of the Minnesota Club and of the University Club of St. Paul. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa and of Alpha Delta Phi. In politics, he allied himself with the Democratic party. He was of a quiet and retiring disposition, finding his recreation in reading and studying.

Thirty-three additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending September 30, 1930. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

BELTRAMI: Eugene Cassidy of Puposky.

BLUE EARTH: William A. Just of Rapidan and George W. Sugden of Mankato.

BROWN: Emil H. Fritsche of New Ulm.

HENNEPIN: Andrew C. Anderson, Dr. Leo M. Crafts, John L. Gleason, Oscar C. Hedin, William J. McNally, Fred C. Mueller, J. Frederick Sutherland, and Edward P. Wells, all of Minneapolis.

KANDIYOHI: Charles Nelson of Willmar.

LE SUEUR: Joe Errickson of Waterville.

MARTIN: Byron H. Curtis and Judge Arza R. Fancher of Fairmont.

MEEKER: Edward P. Peterson of Litchfield.

POLK: Paul W. Wentland of Fosston.

RAMSEY: Alice E. Andrews and Marie Koehler of St. Paul, and William H. Miller of White Bear.

RICE: The Reverend William E. Thompson of Dundas.

ROSEAU: J. W. Durham of Roseau.

ST. LOUIS: Dr. Richard Bardon, Lewis G. Castle, and Robert Kelly of Duluth.

WASHINGTON: R. A. Wilkinson of Lake Elmo.

WATONWAN: Paul V. Fling of Madelia and H. O. Johnson of Darfur.

WILKIN: Dr. Ernest W. Rimer of Breckenridge and Julius Schendel of Campbell.

NONRESIDENT: Walter A. O'Meara of Chicago and Ruth West of Spokane, Washington.

The Pipestone County Old Settlers' Historical Society became an institutional member during the quarter.

The Lester Park Branch of the Duluth Public Library and the public library of St. Charles have recently become subscribers to the society's current publications.

The society lost six active members by death during the three months ending September 30: Joseph G. Pyle of St. Paul, July 27; William C. White of Deerwood, July 31; William A. McGonagle of Duluth, August 2; Susan H. Olmstead of New York City, August 10; Mrs. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, September 9; and John Lind of Minneapolis, September 18. The deaths of the following active members have not been reported in earlier numbers of the magazine: Edwin E. White of Milwaukee, September 28, 1928; Dr. George O. Moore of Worthington, December 20, 1929; Judge Nicolaus Henningsen of New Ulm, January 12, 1930; and William E. Nelson of Minneapolis, May 28, 1930. William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State

Historical Society and a corresponding member of the Minnesota Historical Society, died on July 15, 1930.

Following a visit to the newspaper division of the Minnesota Historical Society, Mr. Win V. Working, a well-known writer of articles about Minnesota Valley history, remarks in the *Belle Plaine Herald* for September 18: "The Society is performing an excellent service in preserving these old newspaper files. All parts of the state are represented." He also estimates the value of the newspaper collection for the writer of local history: "But the old newspaper files prove that the greatest function of a newspaper is the preservation of the record of community life, and no documents extant are more interesting, impartial and illuminative in their respective periods than the newspapers."

The following communication, signed "Saintpaulite" and addressed "To the Historical Society," appears in the contributors' column of the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 16: "Frequently I have telephoned the society for information on Minnesota history. Always I have received the most courteous, prompt, and satisfying answers. Sometimes those who get my queries have not the information at hand but they look it up and call back within ten minutes. This is a real service and it is appreciated."

An illustrated account of the state historical convention of 1930, by Don P. Shannon, is published under the title "Visit Historic Spots in Minnesota" as the leading article in the *Farmer* for June 28. One of the illustrations shows Mr. Frank E. Balmer addressing the historical tourists at Clark's Grove.

As has been already announced (*ante*, 10: 446), the society is building up an extensive collection of Folwell Papers, the nucleus of which was received from Dr. Folwell himself and from members of his family. Unfortunately, however, the papers now in the society's possession include very few written by Dr. Folwell, since he did not keep copies of the letters that he wrote. The society is asking people who have such letters to add them to the collection, since its value could thus be greatly enhanced. Original letters for permanent preservation are particularly desired, but

whenever the owners prefer to keep the originals, the society will undertake to reproduce them, if of sufficient value, and to return the originals.

During the summer Dr. Nute visited St. Francis Seminary, at St. Francis, Wisconsin, and examined in its library the files of several rare religious periodicals, in some of which she found items of value for the history of missionary work among the Indians of Minnesota. She also made a visit in July to Quebec, where she was accorded the privilege of examining materials preserved in the archiepiscopal archives, which contain many original documents having to do with early Catholic missionary work at Pembina.

The society's exhibit at the annual state fair was viewed by many thousands of visitors. Centering about the theme of the farmer in Minnesota history, it included agricultural implements, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and pictures in this field. One feature of special interest was the showing of a film of Minnesota farm scenes, made by Mr. D. A. Leonard of Minneapolis from originals in the society's collections. Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, the head of the newspaper department, had charge of the exhibit.

The superintendent, as chairman of the joint committee on materials for research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, is supervising the compilation of a report on the activities of American agencies affecting materials for research in the social sciences and the humanities, and of a bibliography of guides to and inventories of source materials. He attended a two-day meeting of the committee in Branford, Connecticut, in September.

Commenting upon the suggestion made in the last number of this magazine as to the need of interpreting "historical documents" to include humble records of various kinds as well as records conventionally looked upon as possessing historical significance, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in an editorial on September 30 points out that "This way of looking at the historical document brings it nearer home, closer to the lives of ordinary folk.

There is many a household, farm, or institution whose attic or storeroom may be, under this broader interpretation, a veritable archive of historical documents."

The superintendent spoke at historical meetings held at St. Peter on July 23 and at Grand Portage on August 23 (see *post*, p. 460, 464). On August 14 the assistant superintendent spoke on "The Historical Backgrounds of the Northwest" to the fifteen hundred members of the Citizens Military Training Camp at Fort Snelling; and on September 18 he gave a talk to the Daughters of the American Colonists, in Minneapolis, on "Glimpsing Minnesota History through the Eyes of Contemporaries."

The annual meeting of the society will be held in St. Paul on January 19. It will open with a luncheon; the local history conference will comprise a part of the afternoon session; and the annual address will be given at the evening session.

Miss Selma Press, for several years editorial assistant to Professor Clarence E. Carter of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, has been appointed office and editorial assistant in place of Miss Anne H. Blegen, who resigned to accept a position on the faculty of Macalester College. Miss Press took up her duties on August 15.

Summer is the period when scholars and others from outside the state may be expected to make extensive use of the society's collections, and this year an unusually large number of such visitors made their appearance. Among them were Mrs. Lynn Haines of Washington, D. C., who is working on a life of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.; Dr. J. F. Fulton of Yale University, who is studying the career of Nathaniel P. Langford; Mrs. F. M. Marten of the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg; Mr. and Mrs. Scudder McKeel, who are studying cultural changes among the Sioux Indians for the Yale Institute of Human Relations; and various members of the faculty of the Harvard School of Business and the University of North Dakota.

The printing of volume 4 of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is completed and it is expected that the volume will have been

distributed before the present number of the magazine is in the hands of members.

ACCESSIONS

A trader's account book of the late twenties of the last century has been added to the Alexis Bailly Papers by Mr. Paul P. Thompson of Winona (see *ante*, 7: 180).

That the war department archives include important material about the expeditions into the Northwest of Stephen H. Long and Joseph N. Nicollet is revealed by the calendar cards for papers in the offices of topographical engineers and of commander in chief of the army, recently received from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent at Washington of a group of historical agencies. Many of the cards also are for papers that relate to Forts Snelling, Ripley, and Ridgely during the fifties.

A commission and two land patents issued to William H. Forbes, a fur-trader at Mendota and St. Paul for many years after 1837, are the gift of his granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth G. Patterson of Cooperstown, New York. They are an interesting addition to the society's considerable collection of Forbes Papers (see *ante*, 6: 294).

A "Mail Book of Croffut and Clark, Minnesota State News and Falls Evening News, St. Anthony" that once belonged to Edwin Clark, has been received from Mrs. Merle Potter of St. Paul. The record seems to have been kept during the fifties, and it is interesting to note that these pioneer Minnesota newspapers were sent to people in nearly every state in the Union.

The papers of Marcus P. Nichols, for many years a real estate dealer in St. Paul, have been presented by the Honorable J. A. A. Burnquist of Minneapolis. They cover the period from 1830 to 1911. Those for the years previous to the early fifties relate mainly to land in Wisconsin, but the later papers deal with land values, tax rates, and other economic conditions in Minnesota.

An interesting volume containing the minutes of meetings and other records of school district number 3, later district number

5, West St. Paul and Mendota, from 1859 to 1875 has been presented by Mrs. George H. Staples of St. Paul. Lists of children of school age, copies of letters and reports to the state auditor, records of expenses, contracts with teachers, and similar data are included.

A typed copy of an autobiography written in 1928 by the late Judge James H. Quinn of St. Paul, beginning with the early sixties when he left his Wisconsin home to travel in a prairie schooner to southern Minnesota, has been presented by Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont. Social and economic life in Blue Earth County in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, and legal cases with which the author was connected as a lawyer or judge are among the subjects covered in the narrative.

Letters of Governors Austin, Merriam, and Nelson have been added to the papers of Judge Luther L. Baxter by his daughter, Miss Bertha Baxter of Minneapolis (see *ante*, p. 205).

A group of documents used by one of the lawyers in a suit of the state "on the relation of the Minnesota Midland Railway Company against the town of Roscoe" in Goodhue County to determine whether the town had the right to rescind in 1877 its vote of 1876 authorizing bonds to aid the railway has been received through the courtesy of Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of the University of Minnesota. Among the papers are an election notice, minutes of meetings of two elections, a writ of mandamus, and a list of the voters of the town, apparently for the year 1890, giving their names, nationalities, religions, occupations, and party affiliations.

Photostatic copies of two sets of regulations dated 1904 and 1905, with accompanying letters, giving the method prescribed for cutting timber on lands allotted to Chippewa Indians on the Fond du Lac and White Earth reservations, have been received from the office of Indian affairs in Washington.

Dr. Helen H. Hielscher of Mankato, historian for the Minnesota department of the American Legion Auxiliary, has presented a large collection of historical material relating to that organi-

zation. It includes histories of each unit "filed and presented to the Department Convention at Hibbing" in 1930. Among the items of information presented for each unit are the story of its organization, the origin of its name, an outline of its current history, and a "sketch of how the communities employed themselves during the time the men were absent at the War."

The papers of the Minnesota state central committee of the Committee of 48, the state unit of a national body that was substantially a third party, consisting of letters received, copies of letters sent, minutes of meetings, and other records, have been presented by Mr. Burton H. Bowler of Minneapolis. They cover the years from 1920 to 1924.

Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona has compiled and presented a list of soldiers buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, Winona. It is interesting to note that one soldier of the Revolution rests there, as well as seven veterans of the War of 1812 and three of the Mexican War.

Copies of three master's theses — "Canada and the American Revolution" by Margaret I. Conway, "Claus L. Clausen, Pioneer Pastor and Settlement Promoter, 1843-1868" by Margareth A. Jorgensen, and "Roosevelt, Opportunist: A Study of His Position during His Political Career on the Principles of the Progressive Party Platform of 1912" by Renata R. Pecinovsky — have been presented by the history department of the University of Minnesota. Miss Conway's thesis includes a chapter on the Quebec Act and its influence on the Canadian fur-traders at the time when Canada was being urged to become the fourteenth rebellious colony; and Miss Jorgensen's study contains material on the Norwegian element in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota and on the immigrants' views on slavery during the Civil War.

Among the state archives recently placed in the custody of the society are about a hundred and fifty filing boxes of correspondence for the period from 1880 to 1911 from the office of the attorney general. Three letter books for that office covering the years 1877, 1878, 1888, 1889, and 1890, and located in the auditor's office, also have been received. From the office of the adju-

tant general have come a group of letters and reports relating for the most part to the Civil War period.

A copy of the rare first issue of the first edition of Lahontan's *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amerique*, published in 1703, is the first purchase made by the society from the income of the Herschel V. Jones fund (see *ante*, 9:296).

A great mass of non-current records of United States land offices in Minnesota, filling sixteen large packing boxes, have been turned over to the society by the Cass Lake land office. These papers form a valuable addition to the collection of federal land office records received by the society in 1925 (see *ante*, 6:291).

An interesting gift to the society is a copy of *The Field of Gettysburg: A Metrical Narrative of Love and War* (Amity, Oregon, 1929. 109 p.), presented by the author, Mr. John Talman, who for many years served as newspaper librarian on the society's staff. Mr. Talman's talent for stately and sonorous poetical narrative finds a congenial outlet in the stirring drama of Gettysburg, with the charge of the "First Minnesota" as one of its heroic episodes. The volume contains an introductory word of appreciation by Edwin Markham.

A notable addition to the society's museum is a collection of about a hundred and fifty articles illustrative of life among the Chippewa Indians assembled by Miss Frances Densmore at Grand Portage and including objects actually used as well as specimens and models made by the Indians for the collection. A full-sized birch-bark tepee is to be added to this collection.

Among the objects illustrative of pioneer life recently received are a large platter of brown willow ware, snuff boxes, and a set of bobbins for making lace from Mrs. Carey M. Johnson of South St. Paul; a folding writing desk from Miss Dorothy Eddy of St. Paul; an early type of melodeon from Mr. Paul P. Thompson of Winona; a taxidermist's case from Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona; and a shoulder yoke, tools, and a hunting knife from the estate of John Seibert of Hillman, through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

Recent additions to the costume collection include several ladies' and children's dresses of the sixties and seventies from Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona; a white silk dress of 1895 from Mrs. Robert Rosenthal of St. Paul; an infant's hand-embroidered christening robe of 1860 from Mrs. Margaret L. Smith of Minneapolis; a christening dress of 1850 from Mrs. J. W. Teasdale of St. Paul; a mauve silk wedding dress of 1872 from Miss Dorothy Eddy of St. Paul; a black lace-covered parasol of 1900 from Miss Lillian Lovenstein of St. Paul; and a number of ladies' hats, dresses, and accessories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, together with a gentleman's silk hat in a leather hatbox from the estate of William Moorhouse of Hastings, through the courtesy of Mrs. J. Holbrook of Los Angeles, California.

An oil painting of Judge Orlando Simons presented by his daughter, Miss Blanche Simons of St. Paul; a photograph of Julia Laframboise, received from Miss Callie M. Kerlinger of Berkeley, California; and pictures of eighteen Indian chiefs presented by Mrs. George H. Drake of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Dr. Kenneth Colwell of St. Paul have been added to the portrait collection. Among the other pictures recently received are a group picture of members of the Ramsey County Medical Society in 1889 and twenty small views of early Minnesota scenes from Miss Theresa Erickson of St. Paul; an album of early views of St. Paul and Minneapolis from Mrs. George H. Warren of Minneapolis; three pictures of the site of Fort St. Charles from Mrs. George P. Douglas of Minneapolis for the Society of Colonial Dames in Minnesota; and two photographs of the ruins of Joseph R. Brown's house near Sacred Heart from Mr. Ralph Molm of Sacred Heart.

A large birch-bark basket used by Indians in winnowing wild rice is the gift of Mr. D. A. Mitchell of Mountain Iron.

A silver presidential medal of the Polk administration has been presented by Mrs. George H. Warren of Minneapolis. It once belonged to the Chippewa chief, Bobodosh.

A banner of the Haycreek Grange number 126 is the gift of Mr. A. J. Schunk of Minneapolis.

A set of silver coins of the Republic of Panama for the years 1904, 1905, and 1907 has been received from Mr. Paul P. Thompson of Winona. Mrs. Carey Johnson of South St. Paul has presented several pieces of Continental and fractional currency.

A German gas mask, a field glass case, some war bread, fragments of shrapnel, and shells, and pieces of an airplane have been presented by Mr. Clifford S. Erickson of St. Paul, who collected them during the World War.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"Despite the handicaps under which social scientists labor in applying their principles of scientific methodology," write Walter E. Spahr and Rinehart J. Swenson in a volume entitled *Methods and Status of Scientific Research* (New York, 1930), "they deal with problems which are far more fundamental in nature than do the exact scientists, for the simple reason that they deal with the question of human relations" (p. 25).

"Try as they may to jump out of their skins," writes Dr. Preserved Smith, "men cannot write about other men as they write about bees and about atoms; and could they do so they would miss one of the great interests of study. To lay stress on the personal is to make history unscientific; to omit it altogether is to make our study inhuman." Dr. Smith discusses "The Place of History among the Sciences" in a volume of *Essays in Intellectual History* (New York, 1929) dedicated to James Harvey Robinson by some of his former seminar students.

By establishing a pictorial archive of early American architecture the Library of Congress has launched an enterprise that merits hearty support. A large collection of negatives for permanent preservation is contemplated, supplemented by files of prints for consultation by students and others. The Library of Congress will welcome gifts of negatives in the special field of the collection, which is to be administered by the division of fine arts.

The archives of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have been deposited with the New York Historical Society.

A translation of Nicolas Perrot's commission of May 8, 1689, to take possession of portions of the West, including the "country of the Nadesioux, rivers St. Croix and St. Pierre," appears in the *Green Bay Historical Bulletin* for April-May-June. It was made from a photostat of a copy of the commission in the French archives at Paris. The original is in the Canadian Archives.

Mr. Arthur T. Adams attacks the problem of Lahontan's "Long River" in an article entitled "Minnesota's Missing River" in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 3. The writer attempts to prove that this stream "was the combined Cannon, Le Sueur, Blue Earth and upper Minnesota" all connected as a result of high water and floods, "thus forming a continuous waterway east and west across the state."

"Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country, 1797-1798" is the title of an important article by Abraham P. Nasatir in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July. Dr. Nasatir's narrative, which is accompanied by a series of documents, is of interest for Minnesota history, for in the period indicated that portion of Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi was under the Spanish flag. Furthermore, Prairie du Chien, long a fur-trading base for the Minnesota country, figures prominently in the story. Dr. Nasatir is also responsible for the translation of "An Account of Spanish Louisiana, 1785" by Estevan Miro, which appears in the *Missouri Historical Review* for July. Though this does not include specific information about the Minnesota area, it has many references to the Sioux Indians and is valuable for its general description of upper Louisiana.

One of "Two North West Company Documents" printed with editorial comment by Walter N. Sage in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June is the contract of a *voyageur* named Joseph Flamand made at Grand Portage on July 14, 1792.

Mrs. A. S. Marquis has told the story of Dr. John McLoughlin (*The Great White Eagle*) for children in a pamphlet recently published as one of the *Ryerson Canadian History Readers* (Toronto. 31 p.). An ivory miniature painted in the late thirties of the trader, who became known as the "father of Oregon," is reproduced in the booklet. Before his Oregon career McLoughlin was a fur-trader of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies at Rainy Lake and other points west of Lake Superior.

The Astor House, the headquarters of the American Fur Company at Mackinac, is the subject of a feature article by Elmo S. Watson in the *Wabasso Standard* for August 21. The author

tells briefly of the American fur trade at this point and describes in detail the old house, which recently was converted into a community center.

The importance of the work of the Italian explorer, Beltrami, both from the scientific and from the literary points of view, is gaining increased recognition, according to an article by Eugenia Costanzi Masi entitled "Notizie di Giacomo Costantino Beltrami sugli indigeni Americani" [Notes of Giacomo Constantino Beltrami on the Aborigines of America], published in *Atti d. XXII Cong. Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 2:685-696* (1928), as reported in *Social Science Abstracts* for October. Cooper and Chateaubriand freely utilized Beltrami's material, the author declares.

An historical pilgrimage to sites made famous by explorers and pioneers in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan is described by William J. McNally in a series of twelve articles published in the daily issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from September 16 to October 1 under the title "Motor Trails through the Old Northwest." From Minneapolis the writer went south to Prairie Island in the Mississippi, where Le Sueur and possibly Radisson and Groseilliers made stops; from that point he went to Frontenac, the site of Fort Beauharnois and other French posts and of General Garrard's residence; next he visited the site of Perrot's Fort St. Antoine in Wisconsin; then "Battle Island: the Scene of Black Hawk's Last Stand"; Prairie du Chien was his next stop; then he followed the "Fox-Wisconsin Waterway" to Portage, the site of Fort Winnebago, and Green Bay; from there he turned northward to Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie; and finally, after following the course of the Brule and St. Croix rivers southward to Prescott, he returned to his starting point. The history of each stopping place is exploited and often is correlated in an interesting manner with contemporary European history.

A "Covered Wagon Centennial" celebration, "commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ezra Meeker and celebrating the 100th anniversary of the first Covered Wagon Train to cross the Continental Divide", was held at Independence Rock

near Casper, Wyoming, on July 3, 4, and 5. The rock is a famous landmark of the old Oregon Trail and on it are carved the names of more than five thousand emigrants who went to the Far West by this route. Among them are the names of at least two Minnesotans, A. Balcomb and W. K. Winans.

The Fisk expedition of 1862 is described by Florence Lehmann in a feature article entitled "The Wagon Trail from Minnesota" in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 20.

In a volume entitled *The States of the Old Northwest and the Tariff, 1865-1888* (Emporia, Kansas, 1929. 199 p.), Dr. Clarence H. Miller declares that for a decade after the Civil War a majority of the Congressmen from the Northwest voted as representatives of agriculture, for another decade they voted as representatives of manufacturing, and in 1888 all the northwestern Congressmen voted "as members of their respective political parties," for "the tariff had become a rigid party issue."

Shanty-boat, by Kent and Margaret Lighty, is the story of a voyage in a house boat down the Mississippi from the mouth of the Minnesota to New Orleans (New York, 1930. 321 p.). Woven into this unusual travel narrative is the history of many a point along the great river.

Know Your North Dakota is the title of a useful pamphlet by Helen J. Sullivan issued by the North Dakota department of public instruction as a handbook for the schools of that state (1929. 90 p.). One section of the pamphlet presents a condensed account of North Dakota history and there is a valuable bibliography printed under the heading "Some Books about North Dakota."

In a study entitled "The Swedes and the New History," contributed by Roy W. Swanson to the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* for September, the writer deals with the Swedes during the colonial period and attempts to picture the "amalgamation of a group into the American scene through the breakdown of language and custom." In the same issue of the *Bulletin* is a series of "Letters from Jonas Engberg to Erik Norelius in the Fifties," which includes several dated at Red Wing and Cannon Falls Town-

ship. Norelius was the editor and Engberg was the printer of *Minnesota-Posten*, the first Swedish newspaper published in Minnesota. The latter was also a pioneer schoolteacher. "Last Sunday," he notes in a letter probably written on November 8, 1856, "Willard announced to the congregation that they could deliver oats or potatoes, to apply on my salary, yesterday, Monday." It appears from the letter that some ten or twelve bushels of potatoes received in this manner were put in the schoolhouse and froze before they could be marketed.

A list of thirty-eight Norwegian-American "lags" with the names and addresses of their officers is included in *How to Write the Family History* by Arthur F. Giere (Northfield, Minnesota, 1930. 23 p.). This pamphlet is a genealogical handbook designed especially for workers in the field of Norwegian-American genealogy.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Of state-wide interest are "Minnesota's 101 Best Stories, based on historical incidents," as selected and recounted by Merle Potter, which have been appearing in the daily issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* since July 27. Geographically the stories cover Minnesota from Martin County in the south to Marshall County in the north; they deal with incidents that occurred at such varying times as 1700 and the present century; and their range of interest may be judged from the fact that they include such diverse subjects as a famous murder case and the love story of a missionary. Many of the picturesque figures in Minnesota are represented: Joe Rolette saves the capital for St. Paul, July 27; James Dickson marches across the northern part of the state with his "Indian Liberating Army," July 29; Joseph R. Brown experiments with his steam wagon, August 1; Jane Grey Swisshelm clashes with Sylvanus B. Lowry, August 4; Le Sueur takes his boatload of blue earth down the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers and across the Atlantic, August 18; and Ignatius Donnelly dreams of a great city at Nininger, September 2. The spectacular events described include the "Blueberry War" in Crow Wing County in 1872,

August 3; the grasshopper plague of the seventies, August 11; the great mill explosion of 1878, August 29; the Wright County war of 1858, September 4; the race in which Dan Patch broke the world's pacing record at the Minnesota State Fair in 1906, September 8; the arrival of the "Virginia" at Fort Snelling in 1823, September 10; and the Leech Lake Indian uprising of 1898, September 25.

The Sioux village of Kaposia on the site of the present village of South St. Paul, the battle that took place there in 1842, and the line of chiefs who ruled it under the name of Little Crow are described in a feature article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of August 3, written by Kathryn F. Gorman and based on an interview with Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. A picture of Kaposia, a modern view of its site, and a portrait of the second Little Crow illustrate the article.

The history of the Birch Cooley mission, established in 1860 by Bishop Whipple for the members of Good Thunder's band and other Indians living around the Lower Sioux agency, is reviewed by J. L. Brown in the *Redwood Gazette* of Redwood Falls for July 2. The writer relates that a church was started at this time but was not completed because the Sioux Massacre interfered with its construction. After the outbreak Good Thunder returned to the vicinity of the agency, bought eighty acres of land, and in 1881 "announced he would give one-fourth of his land or 20 acres to the church if a missionary would be sent." The Indians "removed all of the stone from the Old Agency to the present site of the church," and in 1891 the structure was completed and consecrated by Bishop Whipple. Some account of the work of Miss Susan E. Salisbury and of the more recent history of the mission also is included.

The treasures stored in the home of Bishop Whipple at Fari-bault are described in a feature article by Charles W. Moore, published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 14, shortly after the death of Mrs. Whipple in Italy.

The "Stirring Adventures of the Jos. R. Brown Family" during the Sioux War of 1862 are the subject of an interesting narrative by a grandson of the famous pioneer, G. G. Allanson of Wheaton, published in two installments in the *Sacred Heart News* for August 14 and 21. The author's point of departure is the famous "castle" that Major Brown built near Sacred Heart in 1861. He describes in some detail the nineteen-room mansion overlooking the Minnesota Valley, tells about the life of the Brown family there, and explains how its members were forced to flee for their lives one morning in August, 1862, leaving their home to be burned by the Indians. Some intimate details of their captivity in Little Crow's camp, which Mr. Allanson learned from his mother, Ellen Brown, are revealed. Two views of the ruins of the Brown mansion appear with the first installment. The article has been reprinted as a twenty-page pamphlet with a number of additional illustrations—portraits of Major Brown, his son Samuel, and Little Crow, and a picture of Brown's famous steam wagon.

An elaborate historical pageant presented at Fort Ridgely State Park on August 22 and 23 marked the sixty-eighth anniversary of the Sioux War and of the siege of Fort Ridgely. It depicted scenes of Indian life, activities at Laframboise's trading post, and pioneer life in the Minnesota Valley, and revealed incidents leading up to and connected with the outbreak. The celebration was given wide publicity and the performances were attended by about three thousand people. Another feature of the anniversary was the unveiling on August 22 of bronze plaques in memory of Colonel Timothy J. Sheehan, commander of Fort Ridgely during the siege, and of Charles H. Hopkins, "preserver of the site for a state park." A booklet issued by the Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association in connection with the celebration, entitled *Memorial of the Sioux Indian Outbreak, 1862* (Fairfax. 20 p.), is especially noteworthy for descriptions and pictures of monuments erected to commemorate the outbreak.

A picture of the Milford monument, a Sioux War memorial near New Ulm, with a brief history of its site and an account of

its erection appears in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for July 11. A leaflet containing a picture of the monument, copies of the inscriptions on it, and a list of those who were massacred at Milford has been printed for free distribution among visitors to the site.

According to a report in the *Renville County Journal* of Olivia for September 11, the Birch Cooley battle ground was inspected recently by Colonel J. C. Landers of Washington, D. C., with a view to determining whether the war department should erect a monument there. He is said to have been so favorably impressed with the site that he will recommend a "suitable monument in keeping with the natural surroundings, and commensurate with the historic significance and value to posterity of the grounds."

A document of special interest for Minnesota history appears under the title "Making a Farm on the Frontier: Extracts from the Diaries of Mitchell Young Jackson," edited by Solon J. Buck, in *Agricultural History* for July. Jackson was born in Ohio in 1816. Five years later he was taken to Indiana by his parents. In 1854 he removed to Minnesota, where he lived until 1874. From his diaries, which are in the possession of his son, Mr. Preston T. Jackson of St. Paul, Dr. Buck has selected items in the period from 1854 to 1857 which give a vivid and realistic picture of the process of "making a farm" on the frontier of the upper Northwest.

"Early Harvest Days" and the machinery used by the pioneer farmers of the sixties are recalled by P. P. Quist in the *Winthrop News* for July 31.

The beginnings of an important Minnesota industry are described in a sketch of "The Danielson Creamery and Its Fortieth Anniversary" in the *Willmar Daily Tribune* for July 29. It includes the statement that "The late Soren Nelson of Danielson Township in Meeker County is no doubt entitled to the credit of founding the first Co-operative Creamery using a whole milk separator in the manufacture of butter in the state of Minnesota." The history of this pioneer creamery, which was founded in the spring

of 1880, is presented. Attention also is called to the anniversary celebration on July 1, when Mr. John Brandt and Mr. Charles Nelson were the speakers.

The Minnesota Department of Health: A Brief Review of Its Early Days and of Its Subsequent Growth, by Dr. E. C. Hartley, has been published by the division of child hygiene of the department as a "Special Historical Number" of its *News Letter* (August, 1930. 12 p.). The author relates that the department, established in 1872, "is one of the oldest branches of our state government, as well as the third oldest state health department in our country." He describes in some detail the work of Dr. Charles N. Hewitt, its first secretary, and, more briefly, the development of the board and its personnel after Dr. Hewitt retired in 1897. A diagram of the present organization of the board of health is included in the pamphlet.

Library work in American prisons is the subject of an article by Bernice Cosulich entitled "Making the 'Old Bit' Pay," in the *New York Herald-Tribune Magazine* for August 3, in which the library of the Minnesota state prison at Stillwater is described as the "finest prison library in America . . . cited by penologists the world over for its amazing work." The writer declares that the "best reflector of the serious reading done by men at Stillwater is 'The Prison Mirror,' oldest prison newspaper in existence."

The 1930 annual issued by the students of Macalester College, *The Mac of 1930*, is of considerable historical interest for the sketches that it contains of the career of Dr. Edward D. Neill, the founder and first president of the college. The sketches tell of Neill as "A Pioneer Pastor," "A Pioneer Educator," "Serving the Nation," and "Founding a College." Taken together they give a rounded and well written survey of the career and services of an outstanding pioneer of culture in early Minnesota.

Reminiscent sketches and letters by pioneer teachers and graduates of the Mankato State Teachers College are printed in the 1930 *Katonian*, the annual publication of the senior class. This is an "anniversary edition" commemorating the sixtieth anniver-

sary of the school's removal from the business section of Mankato to its present campus and of the graduation of the first class.

Recent changes in the tone of student life of the University of Minnesota are discussed by Professor George P. Conger in an article entitled "After Ten Years," published in the second August issue of the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*.

Short As Any Dream by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant (New York, 1929) is an interesting addition to the steadily increasing number of novels in which Minnesota backgrounds figure. Of particular interest for Minnesota readers is the inclusion of the story of Jane Grey Swisshelm and of her newspaper, the *St. Cloud Visiter*. Another recent novel with a Minnesota setting is *Lone Voyageurs* by Wanda Fraiken Neff (Boston, 1929), in which "Chippewa University" appears to be a disguise for the University of Minnesota.

The story of General William G. Le Duc and his home at Hastings is told by Kathryn F. Gorman in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 21. Pictures of the old house and its owner illustrate the article.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The murder of Michael Durgan, a tavern keeper, near Anoka by two guests in January, 1860, and the trial and sentence of one of the murderers, Charles Dumphy, are described in an article in the *Anoka Union* for July 2.

Members of the Scandia Baptist Church, "the oldest church and first organization of any kind in Carver county," celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding on July 10. Historical sketches of the church, which still occupies a log structure erected in 1858, appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 11 and the *Waconia Patriot* for July 17.

In an interview published in the *Gazette-Telegram* of Breckenridge for July 16, Mrs. Anna Miller of Moorhead tells how her father, George Motschenbacher, emigrated from Wisconsin in

1880, settled in Clay County, and planted the first seed corn in the vicinity.

A brief history of St. Ansgar's Hospital of Moorhead is included in the *White Cap*, the annual publication of the hospital's school of nursing, for 1930.

A joint meeting of the historical societies of Cook, Lake, and St. Louis counties, known as the North Shore Historical Assembly, was held at Grand Portage and Grand Marais on August 23. At the afternoon session at Grand Portage Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the state historical society, spoke on "The Grand Portage Indian Reservation"; and papers were presented by Judge Bert Fesler of Duluth on "The Fishermen of the North Shore in 1890"; and by Albert Headley of Two Harbors on "Historical Philosophy Applied to the North Shore." The evening program presented at Grand Marais included an address by E. A. Allen, superintendent of the Minnesota Chippewa, on "United States Relations to Grand Portage Indians"; and papers on "The American North Shore of Lake Superior" by Charles E. Adams of Duluth; on "The Scotch Northwesters" by William Clinch, superintendent of the Cook County schools; on "The Activities of the Northwest Company, Especially Stressing Grand Portage" by Mrs. John A. Barton of Two Harbors; and on "The History of Cook County" by F. A. Andert, superintendent of schools at Grand Marais. On the day following the meetings a group of those who attended retraced the old portage trail leading to Fort Charlotte and examined the site of the fort. A two-page illustrated feature story by Margaret McEachern about life at Grand Portage in the fur-trade period appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 31.

At the annual meeting of the Cook County Historical Society, held on September 19 at Grand Marais, the following officers were elected: Mr. N. J. Bray of Hovland, president; Mr. William Clinch of Grand Marais, vice president; and Mrs. Effie M. McLean of Grand Portage, secretary-treasurer.

A brief sketch of the beginnings of exploration for iron ore on the Cuyuna Range twenty-five years ago appears in the *Ranger* of Ironton for September 26.

A first step toward the organization of a Dodge County historical society was taken at Mantorville on August 23 when a meeting to discuss the project was held and a committee of three was appointed to draft a constitution for the proposed organization. Among the speakers at the meeting were Mr. George R. Martin of Minneapolis, vice president of the Great Northern Railway Company; Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester, president of the Olmsted County Historical Society; and Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the state historical society. When the constitutional committee has completed its work another meeting will be called to organize the society on a permanent basis.

In commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Freeborn County, an historical pageant depicting the history of the region was presented at the fair grounds at Albert Lea on July 3, 4, and 5.

Members of the congregation of the First Swedish Lutheran Church of Red Wing celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of their church on September 28. The history of the church is outlined in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for September 29.

The history of Kandiyohi County was reviewed in a pageant presented at the fair grounds at Willmar on July 25, 26, and 27. The proceeds were used to finish paying for the log cabin of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association (see *ante*, 8:269).

An historical sketch and picture of the Emmanuel Lutheran Church of Yellow Bank Township, Lac qui Parle County, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on September 1, appear in the *Western Guard* of Madison for August 29.

Governor Christianson spoke on exploration and settlement in the Minnesota Valley before a meeting of the Old Settlers'

Association of Le Sueur County at the fair grounds at Le Sueur Center on August 3.

The fiftieth anniversary of the building of St. Canice Church of Kilkenny in Le Sueur County and the seventy-second anniversary of the founding of Kilkenny parish were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies on September 14. A history of the church which tells of its building, its pastors, its parochial school, and its members appears in the *Montgomery Messenger* for September 19. The narrative includes an interesting note on the first confirmation. This "was conducted by Archbishop Ireland. To accommodate the large crowd a temporary church was constructed with a framework of poles and artistically decorated with leafy branches."

An historical exhibit, consisting chiefly of objects illustrative of pioneer life, was arranged in connection with the Lyon County fair from September 10 to 13.

The exhibits of historical objects arranged in the store windows at Hutchinson in connection with the celebration of the city's seventy-fifth anniversary in July (see *ante*, p. 333-335) have resulted in a permanent museum. According to an announcement in the *Hutchinson Leader* for July 11, the local historical society has renovated a room in the basement of the public library, installed cases, and placed on exhibit its permanent collection.

Nearly all the recent articles in a local history series published weekly in the *Hutchinson Leader* are based on letters or other contemporary source materials. A Civil War letter of Lloyd G. Pendergast, "the first in McLeod county to enlist for services in the Civil War," in which the writer tells of the battle of Fair Oaks, is published in the article for July 18; a document in which the town-site proprietors of Hutchinson agreed to grant to John Chubb a block of land if he would erect a hotel on it is the basis for the sketch printed on August 1; a list of claims filed by people living in and around Hutchinson for property destroyed during the Sioux War appears in the issue for August 22; and two letters relating to the purchase of Sioux half-breed scrip, written

in 1860, are included in the article for September 5. Some recollections of Mrs. Johanna Rose of Gaylord, who relates that she went to school in the Hutchinson stockade during the Sioux War, appear on July 25.

A series of reminiscent talks and some displays of historical objects in local store windows were features of a "Pioneer Day" celebration at Glencoe on August 16.

About fifteen hundred people attended the summer meeting and picnic of the Martin County Historical Society held on Lake Martin on August 31. The meeting commemorated especially the Fowler settlement on Elm Creek, near Lake Martin, which was established in 1857. Henry Martin, for whom the county is named, was a member of this colony. Among the speakers were Mr. E. R. Flygare, who outlined the history of the settlement; and Mrs. Mary Fowler Sargent, who told of its church, known as the Horicon Church. Mr. Flygare's talk is published in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for August 30, and that by Mrs. Sargent appears in the same paper for September 2.

A new method for collecting historical materials has been inaugurated by the Martin County Historical Society. The *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* of August 12 carries an announcement that "President Haycraft offers a free life membership in the society to the person bringing the oldest school register of a Martin county school district." This society also arranged an historical exhibit at the Martin County fair, which was held at Fairmont from September 15 to 17.

Center Creek Township, Martin County, Minnesota: An Historical Narrative Covering the Period from 1856 to 1929, by C. B. Davison (Fairmont, 1930. 15 p.), is an interesting addition to the published histories of Minnesota townships. The title notwithstanding, the sketch deals for the most part with pioneer days—the organization of the township, the earliest settlers, agricultural beginnings, education, politics, transportation, and similar matters. The publication was sponsored by the Martin County Historical Society.

The progress of Onamia during thirty years is described in an article entitled "Indian Trading Post of 1900 Prosperous Village of 1930," in the *Mille Lacs Messenger* of Onamia for August 21. The writer, who is the editor of the paper, Mr. C. A. Sherman, tells of a trip to the village by bicycle in 1900, when the only store was a trading post conducted by Ernest Cundy.

A history of the Opstead school, presented by Mrs. Peter Sehlin at a school reunion and picnic on August 3, is printed in the *Mille Lacs Messenger* of Onamia for August 14. The author tells of the organization of the Opstead school district in the spring of 1893 as the result of the efforts of August Hagland and Andrew Sehlin; and she relates that it was a "big day at Opstead" when the "first factory-made desks were installed in the fall of 1898."

Souvenir of the Seventieth Anniversary Celebration of the Little Cedar Congregation is the title of a pamphlet which includes a history of the Little Cedar Lutheran Church of Adams and accounts of its parochial school and of its ladies' aid and young people's societies (1929. 16 p.). Pictures of the buildings occupied by the church at various times in its history and of its successive pastors illustrate the booklet.

A meeting of the Nicollet County Historical Society at St. Peter on July 23 was attended by about three hundred people. A constitution was adopted and the organization of the society was completed. Among the speakers were Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who spoke on history and its significance to the modern community, and Dr. Conrad Peterson of Gustavus Adolphus College, who described the local society's plans for the future.

A local historical celebration of more than ordinary interest, marking the seventy-fifth anniversary of the beginning of white settlement in Oshawa Township, Nicollet County, took place at the farm home of Mr. William A. Johnson on July 4. One of the farm buildings was vacated to house an "historical display" of pictures, Indian relics, pioneer agricultural implements, costumes, and similar objects; and a pageant depicting the progress of the

community was presented by members of the Lakeside Bible Class. The guest of honor at the celebration, Colonel John Lundeen, who with his parents settled in Oshawa in 1855, is the subject of a sketch published in the *St. Peter Herald* for July 5. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the anniversary was the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Lower Oshawa* by Amelia and Florence Turner (St. Peter, 1930. 40 p.). On the material included in this narrative, the pageant presented at Oshawa was based. Chapters on settlement, township organization, and clubs and social life, and many sketches of residents are included in the pamphlet.

A booklet recently issued by the Rochester Public Library under the title *By-laws and History* (1930. 18 p.) includes a sketch of the "Early History of the Library" beginning with its organization in December, 1865, and a list of the members of the library board from 1895 to the present.

The "Old Doctor" of Rochester, Dr. W. A. Allen, who has been practicing there since 1872, is the subject of a feature article by Kathryn Gorman in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 20.

The Otter Tail County Historical Society recently installed an exhibit, including Indian relics, objects illustrative of pioneer life, maps, and other items, in a glass wall case in the vestibule of the courthouse at Fergus Falls. The case was furnished by the board of county commissioners.

The history of a pioneer flour mill near Fergus Falls is recalled by a former employee, Mr. George Reynolds, in an interview published in the *Fergus Falls Journal* of September 24.

At a meeting of the Pipestone County Old Settlers' Historical Society on September 1, Mr. A. H. Adams reviewed the history of Eden Township, Mrs. Carrie Ludolph read a paper entitled "Days Gone By," and several reminiscent talks were presented. Announcement was made that the organization had become affiliated with the Minnesota Historical Society as an institutional member. It has also received permission from the county commissioners to exhibit its collections in the courthouse.

Builders of Pope County by Daisy Ellen Hughes (44 p.) is a compilation of material about the history of the county drawn from various sources. Exploration of the region, early settlement, and the organization of the county are discussed briefly; the history of each village and township is sketched; church histories are presented; and the county's part "in Three Wars" is described. The pamphlet was issued in connection with a celebration held at Glenwood in June (see *ante*, p. 337).

The formal opening and dedication of the Buckham Memorial Library of Faribault on July 20 is fittingly commemorated in a special supplement published with the *Faribault Daily News* for July 18. It includes sketches of Judge Thomas S. Buckham, in whose memory the library was given to the city, and of Mrs. Anna Buckham, the donor; a history of the Faribault Public Library, which was established in 1897; and an account of the Rice County Historical Society's room in the new building.

The part played by the late Dr. A. O. Sorbel of Webster, South Dakota, in the capture of the Younger brothers after the Northfield bank robbery of 1876 is described in the *Northfield News* for July 25.

1930. T Two pioneer Roseau County churches were marked by the Roseau County Historical Society in July. On July 4 a marker was placed on the community hall at Pine Creek, the first church building erected in the county. The local church celebrated its fortieth anniversary on the same day. A marker describing the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church at Rose as the "first church organized in Roseau County, July 16, 1888," was placed on its building on July 27. Special programs with talks by officers of the society and local pastors were presented at both places.

1930. L An "historic realty deal" of 1869 by which a large portion of what is now the business section of Duluth was sold for twenty thousand dollars is described in an interview with Mr. E. M. Nettleton of Covington, Virginia, published in the *Duluth Herald* for July 31. Mr. Nettleton also presents some pioneer recollections of Duluth, where he resided for a few years following 1868.

How the railroad came to Chisholm is recounted in an article which calls attention to the "20th anniversary of train service," in the *Tribune-Herald* of Chisholm for July 24.

"The Beginning of Belle Plaine" as recalled by a pioneer who settled in the vicinity in 1854, Mr. John McConnell of Le Sueur, is described by Win V. Working in articles published on July 10 and 17 in the *Belle Plaine Herald*. Other sketches by the same writer printed in recent issues of this paper deal with the brick-making industry at Blakeley in the eighties and nineties, July 31; a letter of U. S. Deming telling of conditions in the Minnesota Valley in 1858, August 7; the celebration of December 27, 1866, "marking the advent of the Minnesota Valley railroad in the valley," September 4; and train schedules for the summer of 1867, — the "days when Belle Plaine was 'the end of the Line,'" — September 11.

A "harvest ball" held in August, 1885, at Arlington, which was sponsored by the local fire department, is the subject of one of a series of local history articles in the *Arlington Enterprise* for July 17. Another article in the same series, published on August 14, includes a letter from John McLeod to a cousin in Vermont, written in September, 1863, and telling about experiences in the Sioux War.

The history of banking at Morris and the pioneer history of Stevens County were reviewed by the Honorable Julius A. Schmahl in an address before the stockholders of the Morris National Bank at Pomme de Terre Lake on July 20. The speech is printed in the *Morris Tribune* of July 25.

The Swift County Historical Society has secured the use of a room, which will be converted into a museum, in the courthouse at Benson.

The traders Augustine Rocque, Edward Hudson, and Charles R. Read figure prominently in an article about the history of Read's Landing, a village at the foot of Lake Pepin near Wabasha, by Charles W. Moore in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 17.

The growth of the trading post into a "depot of supplies for mill owners, commission houses, lumbering concerns and backwoods storekeepers" during the steamboating era and its decline with the coming of the railroad are described. Some excellent views of the village and of steamboats at its landing illustrate the article.

The completion of Mr. William E. Easton's sixty years of service with the *Stillwater Gazette* and the sixtieth anniversary of the publication of the paper are commemorated in a series of historical issues published during the first week in August. Extracts from the earliest numbers of the *Gazette*, remarks about some of its oldest advertisers, reminiscences of Mr. Easton, and pioneer views of Stillwater are among the items included. The anniversary was the subject of comment by newspapers throughout the state.

St. John's Lutheran Church of Baytown, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on August 24, is the subject of a brief historical sketch in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* for August 19.

Rothsay owes its existence to the "building of the railroad through this part of the country in 1879," writes Swend Larson in an historical sketch of the village published in the *Rothsay Enterprise* for July 17.

"Father Hennepin Lives Again in the Heart of Minneapolis" is the title of an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Star* for August 16. It announces the celebration on October 12 of the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony and recalls the program presented in Minneapolis fifty years ago when the two-hundredth anniversary of that event was commemorated.

The history of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul, which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on September 14, is reviewed in a pamphlet published for the occasion under the title *Remembrances of Trinity's 75th Birthday* (44 p.). It is elaborately illustrated, and most of the material included is printed in German as well as in English.

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ERRATA

Page 86, line 3, for *polar*, read *poplar*.

—— 112, line 4, for *Blue Earth County Post*, read *Blue Earth Post*.